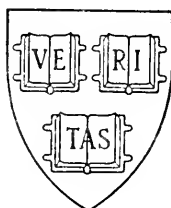


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**GIFT OF THE
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**CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF
COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED STATES
(Greater Pittsburgh Area—Part 1)**

**HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION**

**MARCH 10, 1959
(INCLUDING INDEX)**

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1959

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

HOUSE RESOLUTION 7, JANUARY 7, 1959

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED STATES

(Greater Pittsburgh Area—Part 1)

Current strategy and tactics of Communists in the United States was one of the three phases of public hearings held in Pittsburgh, Pa., on March 10, 11, and 12, 1959.¹

Two undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mary and Hamp Golden, who had served as members of the Communist Party for a number of years until the moment of their appearance before the committee, testified that the Communist operation is currently more dangerous than in the past, even though the visible members of the Communist Party are fewer. Characterizing the Communist Party as a revolutionary group, Mr. and Mrs. Golden described the arduous discipline of the Communist Party over the comrades. In portraying the dedication and zeal of Communists, Mr. Golden stated:

They never sleep. You work 24 hours a day. You attend maybe two meetings in an evening and at midnight or early in the morning you pass out leaflets and literature at plant gates. You never have a minute of your own, no social life whatsoever of your own.

Mr. and Mrs. Golden attended a meeting of the Communist Party only 3 days prior to their appearance before the committee, in which meeting the members of the party discussed the evasion and sophistry they would employ in their appearance before the committee. At this meeting, the party members also discussed, according to the Golden, plans to arouse the citizenry of Pittsburgh against the committee and its hearings. In this endeavor, they were to contact numerous non-Communist groups, political leaders and newspapers without, of course, disclosing the fact that they were members of the Communist Party.

In his 12-year tenure in the party, Mr. Golden held numerous responsible positions within the operation, including membership on the North Side Club executive board of the party within Pittsburgh, and later chairmanship of a cell. In his testimony, he outlined the various security devices used by the party in protecting its membership from exposure. He stated that one of the precautions taken by the party was the decentralization of the party units and the installation of a cutout system whereby all but one member of each unit were unaware of the identity of members of other units of

¹For the other two phases of the hearings, see "Problems of Security in Industrial Establishments Holding Defense Contracts (Greater Pittsburgh Area—Part 2)," Mar. 11, 1959, and "Problems Arising in Cases of Denaturalization and Deportation of Communists (Greater Pittsburgh Area—Part 3)," Mar. 12, 1959.

the party. When he first joined the party in 1946, meetings were held in large groups, but gradually the units were reduced in size. He testified that at present the party's routine activities are nearly completely underground, with contact between party members being made on an individual basis.

The party's open activity is effected through the creation and control of front groups. The more current of the front groups is the Independent Voters League, of which Mr. Golden was a member until the time he testified. He further identified the officers of this group and certain of its members as hard-core Communist Party members.

In the course of their testimony, the Golden's also identified as Communist Party members certain officers and members of numerous front groups, including the Civil Rights Congress, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the Progressive Party.

In 1950 the Golden's were identified publicly as members of the Communist Party through the testimony of another Government agent who was not aware of the role that the Golden's were playing. As a result of this, the Golden's suffered much abuse and vilification from their neighbors and fellow workers. However, according to Mr. Golden, he felt that it was more important than ever to remain in the party and to be in a position to report on Communist activities because at the time the party was going underground and he felt it was becoming a greater menace than ever before.

Mr. Golden also testified concerning the numerous devices of the Communist Party to obtain funds. According to him, "They were always broke but they always had money to carry on."

Another highlight of the Golden's' testimony was their revelation of the concentrated efforts on the part of the Communist Party to exert influence on Members of Congress and other Government officials. They testified that party members deluge Government officials with letters and telegrams urging them to support or oppose particular legislation of concern to the party without revealing the fact that the sender is a Communist, acting under orders of the conspiracy.

In exposing the machinations of the Communist Party in the Pittsburgh area, the Golden's identified over 100 persons whom they knew as Communist Party members during their service in the party.

Following the Golden's' testimony, the committee called eight persons who had been identified by the Golden's and confirmed by staff investigation to be current, active leaders of the Communist Party in the Pittsburgh area. Two individuals, Alex Staber and Joseph Rudiak, are current officers of the Independent Voters League. Both invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination when asked to confirm or deny the testimony of the Golden's respecting their Communist Party membership and activities.

Another witness who had been identified by the Golden's as a leader of the Communist Party movement in Pittsburgh was Alex Steinberg. The Golden's' information concerning Steinberg's membership was corroborated by the testimony of Mr. R. J. Hardin, who had also served as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Steinberg also invoked constitutional privileges when

asked to confirm or deny the testimony respecting him given by the Goldens and Mr. Hardin.

The other leaders of the party in the Pittsburgh area who were called as witnesses declined to give the committee any direct information concerning their role in the Communist conspiracy in Pittsburgh, invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

The remaining witness in this first phase of the hearings was Hyman Lumer, the national educational secretary of the American Communist Party. Mr. Lumer was a speaker before a student group at the University of Pittsburgh on February 26, 1959. According to the Pittsburgh Press, Mr. Lumer discussed in his speech the "political philosophy" of the Communist Party. However, when pertinent questions were asked Mr. Lumer by the committee concerning the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party and his underground activities in the conspiracy he refused to answer, invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED STATES

(Greater Pittsburgh Area—Part 1)

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in courtroom No. 6, New Federal Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (subcommittee chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; and William M. Tuck, of Virginia.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams and William Margetich, investigators.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

As usual, the Chair desires to make an opening statement explanatory of the hearings this morning.

The hearings which begin today in Pittsburgh, Pa., are in furtherance of the powers and duties of the Committee on Un-American Activities, pursuant to Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress, which not only establishes the basic jurisdiction of the committee, but also mandates this committee, along with other standing committees of the Congress, to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of our laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the particular committee.

In response to this power and duty, the Committee on Un-American Activities is continuously in the process of accumulating factual information respecting Communists, the Communist Party, and Communist activities which will enable the committee and the Congress to appraise the administration and operation of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and numerous provisions of our Criminal Code relating to espionage, sabotage, and subversion. In addition, the committee has before it numerous proposals to strengthen our legislative weapons designed to protect the internal security of our Nation.

I shall now read the resolution of the Committee on Un-American Activities, authorizing and directing the holding of the instant hearings here in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:

Be it resolved, That hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, to be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., and at such other place or places as the chairman may indicate, on such date or dates as the chairman may determine, be authorized and approved, including the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to the following matters and having the legislative purposes indicated:

1. The extent, character, and objects of Communist infiltration into civic and political organizations in the Pittsburgh area, and Communist propaganda activities therein, the legislative purpose being to obtain additional information for use by the committee in consideration of a proposed amendment to section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, prescribing a penalty for knowingly and willfully becoming or remaining a member of the Communist Party with knowledge of the purpose or objective thereof, and for the additional legislative purpose of adding to the committee's overall knowledge on the subject so that Congress may be kept informed and thus prepared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security, when and if the exigencies of the situation require it.

2. The employment of members of the Communist Party in defense facilities or in industrial establishments holding defense contracts with the Army, Navy, or Air Force, the legislative purpose being to obtain additional information for use in considering a recommendation for legislation prohibiting such employment without regard to the requirement of registration as contained in section 5 of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

3. The Communist Party membership and activities of officers, international representatives, business agents, and other representatives and agents of a labor organization or labor organizations having bargaining contracts with industrial establishments under national defense contracts involving classified work for the Army, Navy or Air Force, for the legislative purpose of obtaining additional information for use in considering a recommendation for legislation requiring such officers, representatives and agents to meet the same security standards as members of such labor organization or labor organizations who have access to classified material.

4. Communist Party membership or Communist Party activities of individuals subject to proceedings for deportation or denaturalization, for the legislative purpose of obtaining additional information for use in considering a recommendation for legislation to strengthen the procedures for deportation and denaturalization of Communists and those persons under Communist discipline.

5. The execution by the administrative agencies concerned of the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of these laws to assist the Congress in appraising the administration of such laws, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary: *Be it further*

Resolved, That the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof appointed to conduct this hearing, may designate.

I shall now read the order of appointment of the subcommittee to conduct these hearings, made by Chairman Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania. This is directed to Mr. Arens.

To Mr. RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director, House Committee on Un-American Activities*:

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representatives William M. Tuck and Gordon H. Scherer, as associate members, and Representative Edwin E. Willis, as chairman, to conduct hearings in Pittsburgh, Pa., Tuesday, March 10, 1959, at 10 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the committee and take such testimony on said day or succeeding days as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve please notify me.

Given under my hand this 2d day of March 1959.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

These hearings in Pittsburgh will have three phases. The first phase will deal with current strategy and tactics of Communists in the Greater Pittsburgh area who are not necessarily connected with the vital industry of this section of the country. The second phase will deal with the problems of security in industrial establishments holding defense contracts, of which the Pittsburgh area is typical. The third phase will deal with problems arising in cases of denaturalizing and deportations of Communists, of which cases a substantial number have occurred in this district.

After we have heard the witnesses who have been summoned on the first phase of these hearings, I shall make a statement for the record, outlining the scope and some of the problems with which we shall expect to deal in the second phase of the hearings; then at the conclusion of the second phase of the hearings, I shall in similar fashion make a statement for the record pointing up some of the issues which are of concern to the committee in the third phase of the hearings.

Today the Communist Party, though reduced in size, continues as a serious threat to the security of our Nation. It has long since divested itself of unreliable elements. Those who remain are the hard-core, disciplined agents of the Kremlin on American soil. Most of the Communist Party operation in the United States today consists of underground, behind-the-scenes manipulations.

We know that the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party are constantly changing for the purpose of avoiding detection in an attempt to beguile the American people and the Government respecting the true nature of the conspiracy. As we, on the Committee on Un-American Activities, seek to develop factual information for our legislative purpose, we are constantly met with numerous and unfounded charges respecting the nature of our work and our objectives. We seek only the facts. Insofar as it is within the power of this committee, as a part of the U.S. Congress, we shall obtain the facts and we shall do so within the framework of carefully prescribed rules of justice and fairplay.

What are the present strategies and tactics of the Communist operation in this general area? What techniques are the hard-core Communists pursuing in order to avoid detection as they pursue their nefarious work? What are the lines of control and communication between the various Communists' nests across the Nation? What loopholes or weaknesses exist in our present security laws? How may those laws be strengthened? These questions shall be uppermost in our minds as we elicit testimony during these hearings.

May I emphasize that the purpose of the subcommittee here in Pittsburgh is to sample factual material with reference to types and patterns of activity, and not to attempt to exhaust the subject matter. We have not subpoenaed witnesses for these hearings merely to put on a show, nor shall we attempt to interrogate in these hearings even a significant percentage of all possible witnesses on whom we have compiled information.

It is a standing rule of this committee that any person identified as a member of the Communist Party during the course of the committee hearings will be given an early opportunity to appear before this committee, if he desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him. It is also the policy of the committee to accord any witness the privilege of being represented by counsel; but within the provisions of the rules of this committee, counsel's sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise his client.

I would remind those present that a disturbance of any kind, or an audible comment during the hearings, for or against, will not be permitted. This is a serious proceeding in which we are earnestly trying to discharge an important and arduous duty, which is not a pleasant one, but which is imposed upon us by order of the representatives of all the people in the Congress, with the general objective of maintaining the security of this great Nation.

I might say that just a few months ago this committee was reconstituted and as usual we can only operate by direction of the whole House, we can only operate if funds are made available and if Congress directs us to operate. And our funds were made available and we were ordered to pursue our duties, which are not pleasant to any of us and the money was made available and as far as I know there was not one single dissenting vote to our obligations heard from anyone out of 435 representatives of the people in the House of Representatives.

Would you care to make an additional statement, Mr. Tuck.

Mr. TUCK. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. I have none.

Mr. WILLIS. The record will reflect that the full subcommittee is present as designated by Chairman Walter.

Governor Tuck and I serve on two committees, the Judiciary and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. As the chairman frequently says this assignment is thrust upon him as it is upon us. And I do not want to belabor the point, but we can stand whatever gaff or criticism is directed upon us. We will proceed with our work.

Mr. Counsel, please call your first witness.

Mr. ARENS. If you please, Mr. Chairman, Mary and Hamp Golden, kindly come forward. Remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hands. Shall I swear them together?

Mr. ARENS. If you please, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you and each of you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. GOLDEN. I do.

Mr. GOLDEN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly be seated.

TESTIMONY OF MARY AND HAMP L. GOLDEN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourselves by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. GOLDEN. I am Mary Golden. I live at 1730 Brett Street, Pittsburgh 5. I was employed doing clerical work at Bailey Employment Agency up until today when notified I was being replaced.

Mr. GOLDEN. I am Hamp L. Golden. I work at the H. J. Heinz Co.

Mr. ARENS. Are you husband and wife?

Mr. GOLDEN. Husband and wife.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. and Mrs. Golden, are you now, this very moment, members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. GOLDEN. Up to now.

Mr. ARENS. Have either of you ever been ideologically in sympathy with the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. We have not.

Mr. GOLDEN. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute, Mr. Arens. Would you ask that the microphones be moved up a little closer? It is difficult for me to hear the witnesses.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, you are both now and have been in the Communist Party serving your country by furnishing information on the activities of the party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; is that correct?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is correct.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. I expect, Mr. Chairman, to interrogate each of them separately, but for very strong personal reasons and the pressure of this occasion they have requested and we have told them that it would be permissible for Mr. and Mrs. Golden to sit together. There may be some questions in which one may want to assist the other on the information as we proceed here, if it meets with your pleasure.

Mr. WILLIS. As I understand, both of them are right now for the first time disclosing that their membership, so-called membership, in the Communist Party was really as agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and of their Government; is that correct?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct, yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Golden, please tell us first of all, when did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDEN. In August 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Golden, when did you join the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. In August of 1947.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to interrogate you in the course of your testimony here on a number of items, but for the moment I should like to ask you in anticipation of these hearings what was the last function you performed for the Communist conspiracy in the Pittsburgh area?

Mrs. GOLDEN. We attended a meeting Saturday afternoon in which we were in Hymen Schlesinger's office in which we were told what to say before this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Who all were at that meeting?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Anna Devunich—

Mr. ARENS. Would you please, Mrs. Golden, spell the names and do not reveal the name of any person who was not known to you to a certainty to be a member of the Communist Party unless we have an explanation subsequently.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, I perhaps should have been listening a little more attentively. Are they telling about being in an office of a man named Schlesinger recently?

Mr. ARENS. Just 3 days ago, I recall from what she just said.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOLDEN. Saturday.

Mr. ARENS. That was their last function. Then they had another function 4 or 5 days ago which we will explore in a few minutes.

Mr. SCHIERER. What was the purpose of being in this man Schlesinger's office?

Mr. ARENS. She said the purpose of being in Schlesinger's office was to obtain information or instructions respecting their conduct as Communists before this committee.

Now, would you kindly proceed?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Those present were Alex and Essie (Esther) Steinberg, Miriam Schultz, Allan McNeil, Anna Devunich.

Mr. ARENS. Spell that last name, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. D-e-v-u-n-i-c-h.

Genne Crockert Kuhn. I think her last name is. She has recently been married again. Nate Albert, Eddie Lange, Joseph Rudiak.

Mr. ARENS. Joe Rudiak?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. R-u-d-i-a-k?

Mrs. GOLDEN. That is right. Alex Staber, Katherine Kemenovich.

Mr. ARENS. Would you spell the last name, please?

Mrs. GOLDEN. K-e-m-e-n-o-v-i-c-h. Steve Devunich, husband of Anna. Viola Schmidt, Hymen Schlesinger.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now while you are under oath identify, to a certainty, each and every one of those persons whose names you have just called, as a person known by you while an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party, as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us in your own words, if you please, what transpired in this meeting which took place a couple of days ago.

Mrs. GOLDEN. It was discussed the things that have been done to stir up the people to protest these hearings, calling Congressmen, calling on members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and, in general, trying to get people other than Communist Party members to protest these hearings that are being held right now.

Mr. ARENS. Was there displayed to you at that time any documents which were being disseminated in this vicinity under the auspices of the Communist conspiracy?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. We hand you a document which has been marked "Golden Exhibit No. 1," entitled, "Unions Are Their Target." This committee is severely attacked by a group carried on the document as the Independent Voters League, Post Office Box 7314, Pittsburgh 13, Pa., Joseph Rudiak, president, Alex Staber, secretary.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not it is a true and correct reproduction of a document displayed to you 2 days ago as a document being disseminated here by the Communists or under Communist auspices?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

(Golden Exhibit No. 1 retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Is the Independent Voters League controlled by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, at this point I think it should be pointed out since the Independent Voters League has just been mentioned, that there appears in this morning's Pittsburgh Post-Gazette an advertisement headed "Why is the Un-American Committee Coming to Pittsburgh?" Then in the advertisement follows an attack upon the committee and it is signed by the Independent Voters League, Joseph Rudiak, president, Alexander Staber, secretary.

It should be obvious that the people of Pittsburgh who read that ad would have no way of knowing that the Independent Voters League, a high-sounding name, is actually supported and a part of the Communist apparatus as has just been testified to here.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us just a little more detail on what went on in this meeting 3 days ago, in which you met with a number of comrades?

Mr. GOLDEN. We were coached by Mr. Schlesinger to be sure and plead the fifth, the first and the fifth, if there were any objections or when directed by the committee to answer to plead the fifth, be sure and plead the first, be sure and plead the fifth amendment and if your counsel you employed didn't make it in time for the hearing that you were to take the sixth amendment. Stress the fifth amendment at all times on all questions.

Mr. ARENS. Were you instructed on how to vilify the committee and attack the committee?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. On questions of persecutions of the so-called minority groups, the deportation cases and to blast the committee at every chance we had for un-American activities, as they call them.

Mr. SCHERER. Who gave those instructions?

Mr. GOLDEN. Mr. Schlesinger.

Mr. SCHERER. Is he a member of the bar?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir; city of Pittsburgh.

Mr. SCHERER. What is his first name?

Mr. GOLDEN. Hymen.

Mr. SCHERER. Hymen Schlesinger.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to interrogate you on a number of facets of the Communist operation here. First of all, I should like to ask each of you this question: Is the Communist Party now larger or smaller as a formal entity than it has been in the past?

Mr. GOLDEN. The visible members are much smaller, but it is the core that is left now.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Communist operation now more dangerous or less dangerous than it has been in the past?

Mr. GOLDEN. It is more dangerous, due to the fact it is underground more and it can't be kept track of as good.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us something about the nature of the operation from the standpoint of the dedication of its participants?

Mr. GOLDEN. Well, initiation in the party covers schooling that you are trained for, work in the party, to usurp Government organizations, to function on their directives, to carry out their plans of infiltrating unions, front groups and et cetera.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden, at that point I should like to make an observation and then interrogate you.

I recently read an article which appeared in the Pittsburgh Press to the effect that a national leader of the Communist Party was scheduled to speak here in Pittsburgh at a public forum—on a “political” series of talks, talks on “political” philosophy and “political” activity. On the basis of your service as an undercover agent in the Communist Party since 1946 until this very moment, do you construe and interpret the Communist Party as a “political” organization, or is it something else?

Mr. GOLDEN. No. I sum it up as a revolutionary group. They used the term lightly until after some trouble. They call it economic revolution, now.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps it would be appropriate in the order of the testimony of yourselves, Mr. and Mrs. Golden, if I first ask Mr. Golden to give a little of his own career in the Communist Party.

Mr. Golden, during the 12 years that you were in the Communist Party, could you tell us the positions of leadership which you held in its operation in the Greater Pittsburgh area?

Mr. GOLDEN. I was a member of the executive board of the North Side Club of the Communist Party. Also chairman of the North Side Club, later on when security came in, the club was broken up into cells and I was chairman of a cell, also dues collector; and a member of a committee of five of the food group that was later formed. I held several other positions as committeeman in collecting petitions and getting signatures; that is how they got the mailing list.

Mr. ARENS. So this record may be absolutely clear, during all of the period of your service in the Communist Party since 1946 until this instant, and during all the period of service of Mrs. Golden in the Communist Party, you have at no time been ideologically in sympathy with the Communist operation, but you were in it at the behest of the FBI serving your country?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. We expect to explore some of your hardships in just a few minutes in that capacity.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you over the years give regular reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation of what was going on?

Mr. GOLDEN. Every meeting that we attended, covered, we tried to correctly identify those present, what they said, the outline of the policy of the party that was instilled in us to carry out, we tried to give a true and honest report of each and every meeting we attended.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this question. Of course we do not know you and Mrs. Golden, but have both of you taken an oath to tell the truth?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. And this is an official body of the Congress and an oath falsely taken or testimony given after taking an oath which is not true, becomes perjury.

Now, what you are saying, you are saying under oath.

Mrs. GOLDEN. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. As I understand, you are going to name names, people, places, dates. You know you have your reputation on the line

under oath and you know the consequences if that is not true and you are perfectly willing in naming individuals for them to be as courageous and for them to take the oath and deny. Then for sure, both sides could not be correct, and then perjury would lie somewhere. But you are willing to take that chance because you have taken the oath to tell the truth? Right?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is right. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden, would you kindly give us a brief résumé of your own personal background. First of all, when and where were you born?

Mr. GOLDEN. In Barbourville, Ky., 1900, August 26.

Mr. ARENS. And a word, please, sir, about your education.

Mr. GOLDEN. Two years of high school and I left to join the Navy in the First World War.

Mr. ARENS. What have been your principal places of employment?

Mr. GOLDEN. In and around the Pittsburgh area the last 20 years, 4 years at Allis-Chalmers and almost 17 years at H. J. Heinz Co.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Golden, although we expect in your principal testimony to interrogate you at length on some matters, would you kindly at this point give us a résumé of your personal background, including your education, principal places of employment and the like?

Mrs. GOLDEN. I was born and raised in Etna, Pa., a little borough right outside the city. I am a high school graduate and for 6 weeks I have been attending a business school studying key punch. I am to graduate from that school this evening. For almost 3 years I worked at Pennsylvania Truck Lines as a clerk-typist, timekeeper, and most recently, since the first of this year doing clerical work for the Bailey Employment Agency up until today and I was notified I was being replaced.

Mr. ARENS. Before we get into the detail of the Communist operation here I should like you to tell us a little bit of the work and the hardship which you have endured during these many years as undercover agent in the Communist Party. First of all could you tell us something about the discipline of the Communist Party over the comrades in their social life?

Mrs. GOLDEN. We were on call at all times. We had meetings in our home. People used our phone for toll calls without asking. On one occasion I went to Harrisburg with Miriam Schultz and we got back about 9 o'clock in the evening and I said, "Hamp will ride you home."

"No, I think I will just stay here tonight."

She didn't ask me if she could or anything. "I will just stay here tonight."

He was out all the time. We had no home life, no social life and couldn't plan on going anywhere. The party had affairs, Mother's Day, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Fourth of July, things which we had to attend, and work.

Mr. ARENS. Were you permitted to leave this general area without party permission?

Mrs. GOLDEN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an illustration of that?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. One time I wanted to go on a vacation to see my father down in the town where I was born and I was first told I

couldn't go. We had urgent work and leaflets to distribute. I told them he was sick and very elderly and I was going. So it was granted.

They never sleep. You work 24 hours a day. You attend maybe two meetings in an evening and at midnight or early in the morning you pass out leaflets and literature at plant gates. You never have a minute of your own, no social life whatsoever of your own.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any church life or did the party undertake to dominate that phase of your activity?

Mrs. GOLDEN. I am a member of the Catholic Church and I was constantly criticized because of this membership. I was told that it was all right to belong to other churches, but since the Catholic Church was so anti-Communist that I shouldn't belong to that.

Mr. ARENS. The record reflects, Mr. Golden, back in 1950, in public testimony before this committee, a witness was testifying about a number of members of the Communist Party and he identified you as a Communist, is that correct?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us if anything happened at that time from the standpoint of your activity or the effect this testimony had on your activity?

Mr. GOLDEN. We lost all our friends that were not in sympathy and I lost prestige in my union where I had been president of Local 325 and had been on the executive board some 6 years. I was a delegate to the central labor union, and delegate to the State Federation of Labor. I lost out on all my activities in the union organizations and also was blackballed from joining the veterans clubs.

Mr. ARENS. You are a veteran?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You were blackballed from the Legion?

Mr. GOLDEN. I was told that if my card went in, I would be out. The Veterans of Foreign Wars I was trying to join, too. Out of embarrassment for the guy who presented me I withdrew my application.

Mr. WILLIS. Probably after the occasion of being denied membership, a resolution was adopted carrying out what you really believed in, but you could not disclose it.

Mr. GOLDEN. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. So you had to stand that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have children, Mr. and Mrs. Golden?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir, we have two.

Mr. ARENS. Give us their ages, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Evelyn is 14 and Thomas will be 12.

Mr. ARENS. Did they suffer any hardship as a result of this identification of yourselves as Communists?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us a word about that?

Mrs. GOLDEN. They couldn't play out in the yard when we were first disclosed as Communists and the neighbors would call them Commies and later on we moved and people would bring up the fact that their mother and dad were Communists and they were embarrassed by it, asked us questions: were we Communist? We couldn't even deny it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have to move as a result of the identification?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir, twice.

Mr. ARENS. Then may I ask you this question: In view of the fact that you had been publicly identified as Communists, in view of the fact you were suffering all of this humiliation and hardship, why didn't you then come out from the party and say, "We are undercover agents of the FBI in the party" and live an easier life?

Mr. GOLDEN. By that time, when this came out, the Communists went underground and it was more critical to do a better service to the Government by staying in and taking abuse, I could really be useful, which up to that time I thought I had been useful, but I felt I would be more useful to the FBI. I stayed and took the abuse and tried to do a better job.

Mr. ARENS. That was about 1950?

Mr. GOLDEN. That's right.

Mr. ARENS. It is my understanding from your testimony, it is your judgment as a member of the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, until at least you took this oath this morning, that it is a more dangerous and serious organization now than ever before, is that correct?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. May we proceed, Mr. Golden, with some of the details of your own participation in the movement? You stated that you joined the Communist Party in 1946. Tell us, if you please, sir, the circumstances surrounding your admission into the Communist Party.

Mr. GOLDEN. I was in close contact with one Joseph Mankin, now deceased. He was the chairman of the North Side Club. He belonged to another local but was affiliated with the same union that my local was. He knew my work in the union and he thought it was a good chance and he tried to indoctrinate me for a year or more before I finally agreed to join the party to carry out their work.

Mr. ARENS. After joining the Communist Party in 1946, to what group or entity of the Communist Party were you first assigned?

Mr. GOLDEN. To the North Side Club.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a word about the organizational framework or structure of the party in western Pennsylvania when you joined the Communist Party in 1946?

Mr. GOLDEN. Western Pennsylvania was District 5 of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Under whose direction was District 5?

Mr. GOLDEN. Under the direction of the organization of Communist Party offices in New York. The district was broken down into sections and the sections were broken down into groups. In the city there were the North Side Club, the Squirrel Hill Club, the Hill group, Oakland group, West Pittsburgh or the UE group and the East Pittsburgh group.

Mr. ARENS. How long did this structural framework remain? When did they change it?

Mr. GOLDEN. Up until Cvetic made his exposé.

Mr. ARENS. Was there a professional group in addition to other groups you talked about?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, there was a professional group in the city that none of us ever saw or contacted.

Mr. ARENS. What was the membership of the Communist Party at that time in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. GOLDEN. It run into the thousands. We had no way of telling exactly how many.

Mr. ARENS. How many members constituted the North Side Club?

Mr. GOLDEN. Approximately between 60 and 70. You could never know because 30 would attend a meeting tonight and the next meeting would be 30 or 35 more, but there would be people at the next who weren't at the first. It was hard to identify them even in your own club.

Mr. ARENS. Were you an officer of the North Side Club?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What office did you hold?

Mr. GOLDEN. First executive board member and then chairman of the North Side Club.

Mr. ARENS. What constituted the membership of the North Side executive board?

Mr. GOLDEN. Well, the North Side executive board had about 6 members at the time I joined. There was James Dolsen, he was the literature director of western Pennsylvania. Mark Lovett, in whose home we had a mimeograph machine that ran off our leaflets. John Vidmar, Rudy Kranish, Herbert Nusser, Joe Mankin, and Harry Hozak who later associated himself with the Trotskyite group and was thrown out of the party.

Mr. ARENS. How did the North Side Club receive its directives?

Mr. GOLDEN. From some representative of the committee called the City Central Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the persons on this central committee who brought the directives to the North Side Club? Was Evelyn Abelson on the central committee?

Mr. GOLDEN. Evelyn Abelson and Bessie Steinberg, Joe Mankin, Dave Grant.

Mr. ARENS. Was Ben Careathers?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, Ben Careathers was a director on that.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the officers of the North Side Club?

Mr. GOLDEN. Well, Dolsen, Lovett, Vidmar, Mankin, Nusser and myself at one time.

Mr. ARENS. What were the principal activities of the North Side Club?

Mr. GOLDEN. It was mostly political at that particular time.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by "political"?

Mr. GOLDEN. It tried to get front groups, church organizations, etc., to affiliate themselves with the Communist Party. The party would try to infiltrate them and get into leadership so as to lead them on issues of public interest at that time; and would also make up a committee with a high-sounding name and honest people joined it. And it was a good thing until it was thoroughly infiltrated and when they would drop out, it would leave the Communists in control of these various committees.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us the names of the members of this North Side Club? And I say for the record, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. and Mrs. Golden, in order to be 100 percent accurate in their testimony and in identification of people, are testifying from notes which they have very carefully prepared over the course of a considerable period of time in order to avoid any possible inaccuracy. We asked that they bring those notes with them and allude to them freely during their testimony today so there can be no possibility of any inac-

curacy. Would you kindly give us the names of the members of the North Side Club?

Mr. GOLDEN. Patrick Cush; he was a charter member. He is now dead. Matthew Ahel.

Mr. ARENS. If you have a name, Mr. Golden, please, sir, that is a little difficult of pronunciation or a little bit unusual, would you kindly spell it and then give us a word of identification of each person who to your certain knowledge was a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. GOLDEN. Matthew Ahel. He worked at H. J. Heinz Co. and does yet. Arthur Bartl. He was in the language group working on a now defunct nationality paper that operated on East Street for a number of years. They moved to Chicago. Isaac Bey, an elder man, an insurance salesman. Anna Devunich, who signed my wife up and was on the City Central Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden, may I make another suggestion, if any of these persons has to your certain knowledge voluntarily disassociated themselves from the Communist Party you might mention that, too, please, sir.

Mr. GOLDEN. There was Rudy Kranish, a one-armed paper hanger, it sounds silly, but it is true. He has disassociated himself but he was at one time a North Side Club member. Eddie Lange, presently employed as an orderly at the Allegheny General Hospital. He still delivers Sunday Workers and edicts from the party in New York and pamphlets, magazines, and books. Agnes Mankin, wife of Joseph Mankin, deceased member. She has renounced herself as far as I know from the party and taken no actual part since his death.

Anne Perpich was in the youth group. Norma Quinn, a Negro housewife. John Vidmar, he worked on this language paper that was on East Street. Arthur Bartl. He worked on the language paper on the north side. Lillian Lewis of the youth group.

Mrs. GOLDEN. She is the wife of William Albertson now.

Mr. GOLDEN. Daisy Bartl. She was the wife of Bartl who worked on the language group, and Eddie Zuckamandel. He sold papers on the north side, the Daily Worker, et cetera. Charlie Kerns.

Mr. ARENS. K-e-r-n-s?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. An ex-radio script writer. Mary Kish, William Kompus, he was active in the hotel-restaurant. Ida Lewis. She was in the youth movement. Shirley Nusser, wife of Herb Nusser, onetime treasurer of the North Side Club. Jean Vidmar, sister of John Vidmar, active in youth group organizations.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you continue to work in the North Side Club?

Mr. GOLDEN. Until we were broken down for security reasons into cells.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

Mr. GOLDEN. Around shortly after Cvetic's testimony. We started to be broken down. They got wind of something, shortly before, because of the Smith Act trials that were going on.

Mr. ARENS. What was the breakdown?

Mr. GOLDEN. It was broken down into cells. There would be five people. One person would act as chairman, collect the dues and then turn them into your representative from the City Central Com-

mittee. Those cells, you didn't know from your cell who was in the next cell for security purposes.

Mr. ARENS. That was called the cutout system, was it not?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, it was the cutout system.

Mr. ARENS. The committee is working in this field trying to develop facts on the Communist conspiracy and we are frequently confronted with the problem of what is a member of the Communist Party operation. Does the Communist operation have people who are Communists in the conspiratorial apparatus who do not have the status, say, of a member like a person would be a member of the Rotary Club or member of the Methodist Church or member of the chamber of commerce? Can you help us on that, Mrs. Golden.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, in 1951, Joe Mankin and John Vidmar came to our home and asked us if we wanted to continue our membership, that some people were being frightened over Cvetic's testimony. They were named in the paper and although they were still good people they felt that their actual membership in the party might hurt them as far as their employment or something was concerned. So they were going around to ask each individual whether they wanted to remain in the party or not.

Mr. ARENS. But those who said they did not want to remain as a member were still Communists, were they not?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And they still were in the operation?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir. They could always depend on them for money and to distribute leaflets in their organizations that they belonged to.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden, you have told us of some of the various units, cells, in this security system, the language unit and the food unit. What were some of the other units?

Mr. GOLDEN. The hotel-restaurant workers had a unit and professional groups had a unit and UE had a unit.

Mr. ARENS. What was your group?

Mr. GOLDEN. I was in the food.

Mr. ARENS. Who was chairman of this group?

Mr. GOLDEN. I was.

Mr. ARENS. Who else was in this food group?

Mr. GOLDEN. It was Eddie Lange, myself, Lila Grushka, Matt Ahel.

Mr. ARENS. For the past few years has the Communist Party been open or has it been principally underground?

Mr. GOLDEN. It has been principally underground operating through the various fronts.

Mr. ARENS. From whom do the individual Communists now receive their orders or their directives?

Mr. GOLDEN. I presume it comes into the city, from the district leadership, last known to be Steve Nelson. And then it is passed out to the committeemen, central committee, or members that have been on the committee and it is brought individually to you in your home or your group.

Mr. WILLIS. We will take a formal recess for 5 minutes or so.

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Scherer.)

(Brief recess.)

(Subcommittee members present at the time of the reconvening of the subcommittee: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Scherer.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order. Counsel will please proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden, I should like, if you please, to interrogate you respecting Communist Party finances. I hope to cover the front groups and their operations a little later.

Could you tell us in your own words the basic information which you have acquired respecting the finances of the Communist operation, particularly in this area, the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. GOLDEN. Some moneys were sent in from New York to help out in the organization of the steel drive. I was told that several times. But the dues I considered a small part of the money. But then they have social affairs. Some of them had birthdays three or four times a year. They would solicit from professional business such as doctors, people of means, business establishments, drycleaners. These are the ones that I know of.

Mr. ARENS. I will not ask you at the moment, or at least in this public session, to give us the names of persons who are non-Communists and have made substantial contributions but could you be specific in giving us patterns or types of instances in which substantial funds have been channeled into Communist Party coffers to your knowledge?

Mr. GOLDEN. As stated, they would contact these professional people, people of means, some of them doctors, some business establishments.

Mr. ARENS. Did the comrades make known to these people of means that they were representing the Communist operation?

Mr. GOLDEN. No, it would usually be a drive on to protect somebody or to kill some bill that was unethical to people in their business.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any instance in mind in which any inheritances were channeled into the Communist operation?

Mrs. GOLDEN. There was one instance that I recall. There was a meeting of the executive committee of the North Side Club in our house and one Eddie Zuckamandel, who had inherited some money, was given permission to collect the inheritance.

Mr. ARENS. The party permitted him to collect his own inheritance? Was that correct?

Mrs. GOLDEN. He was given permission to travel to New York and Florida to collect approximately \$10,000—when he reached his 21st birthday. He had been working on the North Side selling Workers and distributing leaflets and things like that. When he came back from his 6-weeks' leave of absence, instead of moving back to the North Side he moved to Oakland and he wanted to get his party card transferred over to the Oakland Section of the party. The meeting was held to determine whether they should grant his transfer or not. He was finally granted a transfer and after the meeting was—he was given permission to leave this meeting, it was mentioned that he had only given \$300 of the \$10,000 to the party. They expected to get much more out of it.

Mr. ARENS. Was there any accounting of the finances of the party made to the comrades in the various cells?

Mr. GOLDEN. Now and then a collection was made, the amount would be announced, \$200—

Mr. ARENS. That would be just for an individual function?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, but there was never anything said how it was spent or who spent it.

Mr. ARENS. Was there any particular shortage of money for the Communist operation as you observed in this area?

Mr. GOLDEN. No. They were always broke but they always had money to carry on. They raised it from somewhere.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to interrogate you with respect to pressure activities that you mentioned a few moments ago. Do you possess any information concerning the efforts of the Communist operation and the Communist Party here in the Pittsburgh area to exert influence on Members of the Congress and other officials of the Government?

Mr. GOLDEN. It has been known that they would call on their local Congressmen. They would have meetings, pass out postal cards, and it has been known that perhaps they signed a lot of them themselves. I know I signed, mailed some 10 or 12, with phony names on them. They would pressure; they made trips to Washington, D.C., in protest of five bills that were passed on subversion, the Mundt-Nixon and what have you.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean they would write letters and sign phony names?

Mr. GOLDEN. Sometimes; they would run out of names.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever participate in any of these trips to Washington?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir; I went down to Washington.

Mr. ARENS. What was the position and what was the activity of the Communist Party with reference to the basic immigration laws, say the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act?

Mr. GOLDEN. They protested strongly against that and they tried to influence all front groups to correspond and they tried to influence unions, pointing out it would be bad for them. They tried to influence everyone to fight and repeal it.

Mr. ARENS. Did the party at any time make it known in these activities that it was doing so at the behest of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. GOLDEN. No.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to interrogate you on some of these front groups. You mentioned earlier that the last group of the Communist Party that you were active in a few weeks ago, a few days ago, as a matter of fact, was this Independent Voters League. Please explain what the Independent Voters League is.

Mr. GOLDEN. It is composed right now of all the members who are known to be Communist members. Their idea, one of them, in this leaflet here, is to fight any committee or any law that tends to curb them on their activities.

Mr. ARENS. On Golden Exhibit No. 1 previously mentioned and headed "Unions Are Their Target," the Committee on Un-American Activities is attacked by the Independent Voters League.

To your certain knowledge is Joseph Rudiak, president of the Independent Voters League, a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge is Alexander Staber, secretary of the Independent Voters League, a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. That is the same organization that inserted the ad in this morning's Pittsburgh Post-Gazette to which I referred a short time ago, is it not?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. SCHERER. Were Joseph Rudiak and Alexander Staber who signed that ad as president and secretary, respectively, of the Independent Voters League appearing in this morning's Pittsburgh Gazette, present at the meeting in Schlesinger's office a few days ago?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did they participate in the discussions that were held there?

Mr. GOLDEN. Very much so.

Mr. SCHERER. I notice also an ad that appeared in yesterday morning's Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Monday, March 9. This ad is quite a lengthy ad and it is signed by quite a number of individuals, more or less prominent in leftwing activities throughout the country, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and this ad reads as follows:

The advertisement below appeared in the Washington Post Jan. 7, 1959—
and I am reading from the ad in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of March 9—

The advertisement below appeared in the Washington Post Jan. 7, 1959. On the same day Rep. James Roosevelt introduced a resolution which would abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (H.R. 53). The resolution is still pending.

The Un-American Activities Committee has announced hearings in the New Federal Bldg. of Pittsburgh on Tues., Wed., and Thurs. of this week. The following ad is therefore reproduced here as a public service by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Harvey O'Connor, chairman, Corliss Lamont, vice chm., Clark Foreman, director, 421 Seventh Ave., N.Y. 1, N.Y.

And then follows the usual bitter attack upon the Committee on Un-American Activities. It is then signed by the individuals, as I have indicated.

Let me ask you, at this meeting in Schlesinger's office was there a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee present also?

Mr. GOLDEN. One Mr. Foreman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clark Foreman, the director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was at this meeting in Schlesinger's office?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And that, Mr. Chairman, is the Clark Foreman, who is the director of that committee and whose name appears in this ad that I have just read.

Now, do you remember anything Clark Foreman said at that time at the meeting?

Mrs. GOLDEN. He just told the people that if they in all good conscience decided to plead the fifth, that they should by all means do so. He had this particular ad and stated that they were putting this ad in the newspaper, that he was also contacting different people in this area to condemn the hearings that were scheduled.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clark Foreman made that statement at this meeting of persons who had been subpoenaed before this committee, persons you have identified as known members of the Communist Party. He made that statement in Schlesinger's office just a few days ago.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Harvey O'Connor, who is named here as chairman of this committee of which Clark Foreman is director—I might say for the record at this point and for the good people of Pittsburgh who read these ads and do not know the source of these ads—has been identified as a member of the Communist Party. I will pass over Corliss Lamont without any comment.

Then also there is Frank Wilkinson, who signed this ad. He is the executive director of this same Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He was convicted, was he not, Mr. Arens, in the Federal courts of Atlanta about 3 or 4 weeks ago and sentenced to 1 year in prison for contempt of Congress?

And what is the record of Carl Braden, who is also identified with this Emergency Civil Liberties Committee that placed this ad in the Pittsburgh press?

Mr. ARENS. Carl Braden, likewise identified as a member of the Communist Party, having been subpoenaed by this committee to testify at Atlanta, Ga., refused to answer a number of questions, was convicted and sentenced to a year in jail by the United States District Court in Atlanta.

Mr. SCHERER. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which placed this ad has been also cited by this committee and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, has it not, Mr. Arens, as a Communist-controlled and Communist-dominated committee or organization?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. We have issued a report on the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee entitled, "Operation Abolition," which sets forth the long Communist and Communist front records of practically every officer and trustee of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Is that not right, Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, has in a public statement and letter complimented this committee on the excellency of the report on the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, has he not?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, I just want to make this observation, that this ad, and I don't want to belabor the point, which appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette yesterday morning issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the individuals to whom I have referred does carry the names of a large group of citizens from this country who are more or less prominent and who may influence the readers of that ad because their names appear on this ad. It is indicative of how people can be serving the Communist cause and serving an organization such as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden, when was the last meeting you attended as a Communist of the Independent Voters League?

Mr. GOLDEN. Saturday a week ago, Roosevelt Hotel.

Mr. ARENS. And who were the Communist Party members who were in attendance at this meeting of the Independent Voters League at the Roosevelt Hotel here in Pittsburgh a week or so ago?

Mr. GOLDEN. Alex Steinberg, Alex Staber, Joe Rudiak, Nathan Albert, Gus Santes, and myself.

Mr. ARENS. What other front groups were you active in as a comrade, as a Communist?

Mr. GOLDEN. Civil rights organization, the Progressive Party, the two principal ones.

Mr. ARENS. In general, what were the purposes of these front groups?

Mr. GOLDEN. They were to recruit members to carry out the policies of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. How did the Communist Party members, the comrades in this conspiracy control the front groups?

Mr. GOLDEN. By helping to organize them and then present their policies and push those forward and take over.

Mr. ARENS. Did they caucus frequently?

Mr. GOLDEN. They caucused frequently.

Mr. ARENS. As to how they were going to penetrate and control these organizations?

Mr. GOLDEN. They caucused before and after every meeting and in between.

Mr. ARENS. Was the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDEN. Absolutely.

Mr. ARENS. What Communist Party members were also members of the Progressive Party?

Mr. GOLDEN. Most all of them. Here I have listed some names.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give those names to us on this record now?

Mr. GOLDEN. J. B. Richardson, Henry Bichner, of Philadelphia, Pearl Griffin, Rebecca Horowitz, James Quinn, Joe Robinson, Ted Wright, Joe and Agnes Mankin, Jack Sartisky.

Mr. ARENS. That is M-a-n-k-i-n?

Mr. GOLDEN. Right. Essie Steinberg, Sol Garfield, of Philadelphia, who was there lots, Mr. William Hamlet, Ida Lewis, Alma Robinson, Allen Thomas, Miriam Schultz, Gabe Kish, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Vladimir Slomberg, are some of the names. I don't have them all.

Mr. ARENS. Who from the Communist Party were penetrating and active in controlling the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. GOLDEN. Nathan Albert, Joe Rudiak, Miriam Schultz, Ben Careathers, Steve Nelson and wife, Essie Steinberg, Allen Thomas, Rebecca Horowitz, Bessie Steinberg, Evelyn Abelson, Sunny Sartisky, Al McNeil, Lila and Jerry Grushka, Ted and Eileen Rowland, Steve Suto are some of those in the CRC.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to interrogate you, if you please, respecting Communist Party training schools. While a member of the Communist Party did you attend any schools or classes conducted by the Communist Party training schools?

Mr. GOLDEN. I attended three sessions.

Mr. ARENS. Where were those held?

Mr. GOLDEN. One was held in Wood Street.

Mr. ARENS. Here in Pittsburgh?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. Over up in the jewelry store. One was on Liberty Avenue, I think it was 9170, the second or third floor and one in Toni Nuss' home.

Mr. ARENS. What were you taught concerning the revolutionary aims of the Communist operation?

Mr. GOLDEN. We were taught the principles of Marxism and communism and on economic situations and political situations, how to meet and work in groups in political groups and how to control or lead front organizations along the party line.

Mr. ARENS. Were you told how to agitate among the masses?

Mr. GOLDEN. That was part of the education.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the instructors in these schools?

Mr. GOLDEN. Bill Albertson, first had it, later he went to Detroit, and then between teachers we had some four or five meetings in a housing project in Toni Nuss' home in the South Side and then William Gordon came in from New York and finished the instruction and Steve Nelson taught a class one night. He was here to talk.

Mr. ARENS. Was any emphasis placed upon the objective of the Communist operation in penetrating labor groups?

Mr. GOLDEN. The principal target was labor organizations. I was taught to infiltrate all unions, particularly steel, electrical, food, and places that had Government contracts; that later on you would be, if something happened, in position to help create chaos.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us some of the techniques and strategy of the Communist Party in infiltrating labor organizations?

Mr. GOLDEN. We were supposed to affiliate, or to become a member of the union, you attached yourself to the top leadership of the unions, you worked very diligently and very hard. You carried out all the directives and make yourself a good, loyal union man and then to get in a minority position and work your way up in the leadership, slowly infiltrating into the union the ideas through resolutions on cases that concern labor or minority groups; you would then influence your unions through resolutions that you would carry in and work your way into that so you can control their policies.

Mr. ARENS. Were you cautioned as to revealing your true identity as a member of the conspiracy?

Mr. GOLDEN. That was inevitable. You wouldn't be any use to them if it was known in your union that you was a Communist Party member.

Mr. ARENS. During your activity in the Communist Party, did you have any contact with the UE, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union of America?

Mr. GOLDEN. We had a couple meetings in their office. At that time I think it was the old Wabash Building they were in.

Mr. ARENS. These are Communist cell meetings?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes.

They were trying to get certain issues before the public and before the unions at this particular time. One issue was a protest on the hiking of the trolley fares. They wanted to get the names and to secure mailing lists and to get people to protest. This was another way they got their mailing list for these various fronts.

Mr. ARENS. Was this protest group completely controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDEN. As far as my knowledge is, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you also meet at the UE headquarters persons who were officials of the UE but who were known by you to be comrades, members of the Communist Party.

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. Tom Fitzpatrick, Tom Flanagan.

Mr. ARENS. Tom Fitzpatrick. What was the second name?

Mr. GOLDEN. Flanagan. Thomas Flanagan and Tom Quinn. There were others here.

Mr. ARENS. Did you meet Harold Briney there by any chance?

Mr. GOLDEN. No, I don't think I did. Not at this meeting.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever met him as a comrade?

Mr. GOLDEN. I can't recall if I have or not.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting leaflets which were distributed by the comrades which were printed at UE headquarters or with UE equipment?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, they printed leaflets on these protests and other things that they were fighting at that time. They were passed out at various mills. They were printed in the downtown office and carried out of there and put in cars and distributed.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, the work of the Communist Party here was carried through UE at the expense of the rank and file members of the UE who paid their dues to the UE, is that correct?

Mr. GOLDEN. Probably true. We gave them no money.

Mr. ARENS. In your work in the labor field, have you had any experience with the Taft-Hartley affidavit as far as the Communist Party was concerned?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. I went to protest meetings. I ran for office in the union after I had been exposed, and I was told to go ahead and run by the party; in fact the party made up the slate of Communist members and sympathizers for Local 325. If we were elected we were to sign the non-Communist affidavit oath and put the proof of the burden on the Government to prove we were members.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, you were to go ahead and sign it even though you were a Communist?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And sign it as though you were not a Communist?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is right. Put the burden of proof on the Government to prove we were.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to dwell a little, Mr. Golden, on patterns of activity in the field of Communist propaganda. The United States, as this committee has revealed time and again, is constantly barraged with Communist propaganda both from abroad and from sources here within the United States. In your work in the Communist Party, did you acquire any knowledge of the techniques of this Communist propaganda?

Mr. GOLDEN. Sure. They would take some issue that had some small part of truth in it and they would build that up and publicize it and twist it around to fit their own needs. They would stress civil liberties and individual rights and persecution of minority groups et cetera, anything they could get to the front, get to the masses, get money and help fight, they would infiltrate them.

Mr. ARENS. What is the main source of Communist propaganda in the Pittsburgh area now?

Mr. GOLDEN. It comes from New York by mail and is distributed on the North Side and to me, I live near Crafton, by one Eddie Lange. In the past I have received Daily Workers, Sunday Workers, Political Affairs, and books, that anyone writes in the Communist Party. It is a must you take them.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting any reproducing equipment presently in operation by the Communists here?

Mr. GOLDEN. Not at the present, but in the past we got out our own information through leaflets. We had a mimeograph machine in one Mark Lovett's home when he lived on Federal Street and then, as I stated before, leaflets and things were run off in the UE office for protest of different things.

Mr. ARENS. What has happened in the recent past to the Foreign Languages Press in this vicinity?

Mr. GOLDEN. That, due to the pressure brought on it, after they were exposed the circulation fell off, they broke it up here and moved to Chicago, figuring it would be a larger city and they could operate better without harassment.

Mr. ARENS. Who moved to Chicago, with that Communist press, do you recall?

Mr. GOLDEN. Well, there was John Vidmar and his father moved with them. Daisy and Arthur Bartl went with it.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Calvin Brooks.

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge, were all of these individuals Communists?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. GOLDEN. They moved with the paper to Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have knowledge of persons in this area who are Communists and who have traveled abroad to engage in Communist Party activities?

Mr. GOLDEN. I know only of one, and that is Anna Devunich.

Mr. ARENS. Where did she go?

Mr. GOLDEN. I think to Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. During the 12 years that you were a member of the Communist Party did you become aware of Communist Party membership of any persons other than those you have already indicated and identified?

Mr. GOLDEN. I don't know them all. But I know some more.

Mr. ARENS. Those who were in contact with you as comrades in the operations in which you were engaged? Kindly give those to us now, please, with a word of comment on each.

Mr. GOLDEN. Genne Crockert from Wheeling, W. Va., she is head of the party down there. She later married. I think it is Kuhn, marriage name. Jerry Grushka.

Mrs. GOLDEN. He is from New York.

Mr. ARENS. Spell that, please, sir.

Mrs. GOLDEN. G-r-u-s-h-k-a.

Mr. GOLDEN. He was in the youth movement.

Mrs. GOLDEN. He was.

Mr. GOLDEN. Bobby Jones. He was active in the hotel-restaurant and food, Communist Party groups that belonged to the hotel and restaurant workers' union.

Elmer Kish, one time helped organize in Washington County. Nick Lazaris, who was the head of the hotel and restaurant workers group of the Communist Party.

Milo Mamula, Steve Nelson, Andy Onda, Ted Rowland, Hymen Schlesinger, Ernest Careathers, Rachel Cooper, Herbert Glickman, Vince Kemenovich, Ruth Kish, Al McNeil, Francis McGill, Isaac Bey, Antoinette Nuss, J. B. Richardson, Eileen Rowland, Vladimir Slomberg. There are some more.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Golden, you testified you joined the Communist Party in 1947. Please relate on this record the circumstances of your joining the Communist Party.

Mrs. GOLDEN. After my husband had joined there were executive committee meetings held at my home. The first ones I didn't attend. Not being a member of the party, I went to a movie. When I got home the meeting wasn't over and I sat in the kitchen. After the meeting was over Joe Mankin had said, "The next meeting we have, why don't you stay here? You might learn something." So he proceeded to talk to me and ask me how I felt about this and how I felt about that. And in August of 1947 we had a meeting at our home to form a branch of the Congress of American Women in Pittsburgh on the North Side and Anna Devunich came to our home and Joe Mankin was there, too. Since they weren't very many women present, some of them had been on vacation, they decided to postpone this meeting and Anna Devunich asked me to join the party that evening, and I did so.

Mr. ARENS. And you did so with the full knowledge and cooperation of your husband, and you also did so at the instigation and knowledge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is that correct?

Mrs. GOLDEN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. To what group were you assigned after you joined the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. The North Side Club.

Mr. ARENS. That was the same group to which your husband was assigned?

Mrs. GOLDEN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Since he has already testified respecting that particular entity of the Communist Party we will not interrogate you on that. What were your principal activities in the Communist Party, Mrs. Golden?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, I was appointed to assist the membership director, John Vidmar, to type the letters and the envelopes, call people on the phone, but my chief activity was in front groups.

Mr. ARENS. Of what front group were you first a member?

Mrs. GOLDEN. It was first called the Housewives Price Protest Committee and then it was later changed to the Housewives Protest Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Was it created and controlled by the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of the Housewives Protest Committee?

Mrs. GOLDEN. At that time they were opposing the lifting of price controls.

Mr. ARENS. How many members?

Mrs. GOLDEN. When it started out there must have been about 100 members.

Mr. ARENS. In this group of 100 members controlled by the Communists, how many were actually comrades, Communists?

Mrs. GOLDEN. About 8 to 10, at the most.

Mr. ARENS. What did this group do? How did they raise money?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, they went out, they distributed petitions. We would go on street corners and go out to get petitions signed, sent out letters and—

Mr. ARENS. What did they do with the petitions?

Mrs. GOLDEN. They sent them to Washington.

Mr. ARENS. What Communist Party members were in the Housewives Protest Committee?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Miriam Schultz, Anna Devunich, Evelyn Abelson, Mark Lovett, Agnes Mankin and myself.

Mr. ARENS. Of what other front groups were you a member?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, I was a member of a peace group that started out.

Mr. ARENS. What was the name of it? Do you recall?

Mrs. GOLDEN. There was one meeting held to form a club. It was more or less a city meeting to organize peace clubs in the various sections of the city. And then the North Side had their own peace meeting and formed the North Side Peace Club.

Mr. ARENS. Was it controlled by the Communists?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you active in the Rosenberg Committee?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you active in the Committee To End Sedition Laws?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you active in the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you active in a number of other similar groups?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were they all controlled by the conspiratorial system?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. How did you find time for social life?

Mrs. GOLDEN. We didn't.

Mr. ARENS. How did the Communists retain control of these groups? You indicated that in this one group only a handful of comrades controlled a rather large group. How was that done?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Most of these groups, now the peace group, there were a few known Communists in it. But they would bring up an issue on the floor and get the resolutions passed. The Civil Rights Congress, Rosenberg Committee, they were all born by the Communist Party and it was just another Communist Party meeting as far as—there wasn't anybody outside of party members who attended these functions.

Mr. ARENS. What techniques were used by the front groups to raise money?

Mrs. GOLDEN. We had picnics and dinners, and we had Russian movies. We sent out "appeals" letters.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you get your mailing list?

Mrs. GOLDEN. They had union mailing lists, they had the party mailing list of people that had contributed in the past and we had petitions signed, and would take some names from these petitions and use them.

Mr. ARENS. You mentioned that you were a member of this North Side Peace Club. What was the purpose of this group?

Mrs. GOLDEN. To oppose universal military training, to oppose testing of atom bombs, to protest the Korean war.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any instance in mind which was particularly significant in connection with opposing the Korean war?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about it?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Joe Mankin lived upstairs over us when we lived on the North Side. And he had had a meeting up there of his group, John Vidmar, Helen and Bill Kompus, Agnes and myself. I hadn't been to the meeting but I was called up at 11 o'clock. The news was on and everybody had to keep quiet until we heard the news. At that time the United Nations overseas were retreating. Joe was very jubilant over the whole thing. He stated that the imperialists, capitalists, would never win the Korean war, as our boys were not used to fighting against guerrilla warfare. They had fought with guerrillas in World War II, but never against. Therefore the people's democracies would win the fight.

Mr. ARENS. What Communist Party members were also members of the North Side Peace Club?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Joe Mankin, Tom Flanagan, Miriam Schultz, Evelyn Abelson, Viola Schmidt.

Mr. ARENS. Was Agnes Mankin a member?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir. Gabe and Mary Kish, Nick Kelich, Sunny Sartisky, Bobby Jones, Bessie Steinberg, Helen and Bill Kompus, Jerry and Lila Grushka, John Vidmar, Daisy and Arthur Bartl, Anne Perpich.

Mr. ARENS. What Communist Party members were also active in the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, practically the same ones.

Mr. GOLDEN. Same group.

Mr. ARENS. What Communist Party members were members of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg case?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Practically the same ones.

Mr. ARENS. How about the Committee To End Sedition Laws?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Same ones.

Mr. ARENS. And the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Same ones.

Mr. ARENS. Was there a successor here to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. GOLDEN. No. But at the same time that that committee was functioning they had what was called a Nationality Committee of Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. ARENS. What was its purpose?

Mrs. GOLDEN. This was to fight the Walter-McCarran Act and——

Mr. ARENS. That is the Immigration and Nationality Act, popularly known as the Walter-McCarran Act?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes. And the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had been cited as a subversive organization and therefore it was felt that the Nationality Committee could carry on the work because it hadn't been cited and therefore some people wouldn't be frightened into not working with the Nationality Committee, where they wouldn't work with the American Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever attend a victory celebration for Steve Nelson?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us about it, or about them, if you attended more than one?

Mrs. GOLDEN. They had a couple. There was one in January of 1954 when the State Supreme Court overruled the conviction of Steve Nelson on his sedition case.

Mr. ARENS. Where was this held and how many people were present? Tell us about it, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. It was held in the Fort Pitt Hotel. Near approximately 100 people present. Well, it was——

Mr. ARENS. Was it under Communist Party control?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In connection with your activities in these front groups did you ever travel to other cities to participate in conventions or any activities on behalf of the Communist operation?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you describe briefly some of these meetings? Who were the leaders, where they were held and what you did?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, in April of 1953 I went to Philadelphia with Miriam Schultz and Nate Albert and Joe Mankin. And Nelson was there.

Mr. ARENS. Steve Nelson?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of your going?

Mrs. GOLDEN. This was supposedly a CRC conference.

Mr. ARENS. Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us a bit about it, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. They had planned to get 50,000 signatures on petitions to reverse the Steve Nelson conviction on sedition. And in turn they were going to try to get the IWO, International Workers Order, which the New York State Insurance Department broke up, to help defeat the Walter-McCarran Act and distribute 3,000 leaflets on the Smith Act. They talked about trials in Philadelphia that were going on, Smith Act trials. They made a proposal to Governor Fine to annul the 20-year sentence of Steve Nelson. And then Nelson spoke on how he had to go to trial without a lawyer.

Mr. ARENS. Did the delegation get to see the Governor?

Mrs. GOLDEN. This was to take place later.

Mr. ARENS. Did the delegation eventually see the Governor?

Mrs. GOLDEN. That I don't know. I can't recall.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Communists reveal the fact that they were Communists?

Mrs. GOLDEN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you subsequently participate in a Progressive Party affair in Youngstown, Ohio?

Mrs. GOLDEN. We both did.

Mr. ARENS. You and your husband?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And what was the nature of that affair? Could you give us a word about that?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, they had a picnic in Youngstown and at this, the Rosenberg petitions were passed around and then they discussed sending a delegation of 10,000 people to Washington to demonstrate against the conviction of the Rosenbergs.

Mr. ARENS. Was this all controlled by the Communists?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you subsequently go to New York City on a conference?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. In October of 1953 I went to New York City, for a people's conference to fight the McCarran law prosecutions, and McCarthyism.

Mr. ARENS. Did you go to Chicago for any conferences?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, I went to Chicago in December of 1953.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of that conference?

Mrs. GOLDEN. To repeal the Walter-McCarran Act and defend its victims.

Mr. ARENS. What transpired there?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Well, there was a talk about the people being deported.

Mr. ARENS. Did they talk about raising funds to defeat the Walter-McCarran Act?

Mrs. GOLDEN. They were to raise \$50,000 to defeat the Walter-McCarran Act.

Mr. ARENS. How many comrades went from Pittsburgh to Chicago for this session?

Mrs. GOLDEN. 22.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend any other out-of-town functions at the behest of the Communist operation?

Mrs. GOLDEN. I went to Harrisburg with Steve Nelson, Miriam Schultz, Sonny Robinson, and Art Shields. When Steve's Supreme Court hearing was coming up on his sedition case, there were delegations there from New York, Philadelphia, and other areas. They were to see the Governor to ask him to reverse the conviction of the State.

Mr. ARENS. Did they make known to the Governor that they were comrades?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Golden, I would like to ask you, as I asked Mr. Golden when he was concluding his testimony, to give us now the names of other persons who have not as yet been identified by yourself in connection with some unit of the Communist Party but who

were to a certainty known by you to be members of the Communist Party.

Mrs. GOLDEN. Charlie Soldo.

Mr. ARENS. Spell that last name, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. S-o-l-d-o.

Mr. ARENS. And a word about him, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. He was active in the language groups, nationality groups. Joe Takacs. He was also active in the nationality groups.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Katherine Kemenovich as a comrade?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. K-e-m-e-n-o-v-i-c-h.

Mrs. GOLDEN. She was one of the people that went to Chicago with us.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Alex Rakosi?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Rakosi?

Mr. ARENS. Rakosi. You know him as a comrade?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir, he attended that meeting in Hymen Schlesinger's office Saturday.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know John Regan as a comrade?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, he was an active in youth, to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Harold Spencer, S-p-e-n-c-e-r?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are there others you knew as comrades whom you have not as yet identified in connection with some unit of Communist operation?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Minnie Mazur. She is the sister of Becky Horowitz.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell that last name, please?

Mrs. GOLDEN. H-o-r-o-w-i-t-z.

Mr. ARENS. The first lady's name is Minnie?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Minnie.

Mr. ARENS. And her last name?

Mrs. GOLDEN. M-a-z-u-r.

Mr. ARENS. Yes. And a word about her, please.

Mrs. GOLDEN. She was a sister of Becky Horowitz and she helped out and attended a lot of nationality affairs.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any others?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Bessie Chosky. She was also active in nationality groups, particularly Jewish.

Mr. ARENS. Would you spell her last name, please?

Mrs. GOLDEN. C-h-o-s-k-y.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a comrade?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any others?

Mrs. GOLDEN. I can't think right now.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, as the chairman knows and as the witnesses of course know, these witnesses have been in contact with the staff over the course of many months. We have had, under oath, extensive interviews and consultations with these two witnesses on some subjects covered here today, but there are other matters which, as the chairman knows, it would not be prudent at this time to develop with these witnesses in a public session. Therefore, Mr. Chairman,

I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this session. On behalf of the staff, if you please, Mr. Chairman, we would like to publicly express our profound admiration and deep appreciation to these two people for the excellent cooperation they have given to this committee over the course of the many months the committee has been assembling information respecting the general subject matter of their testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Arens, on behalf of the subcommittee I, and through this committee, on behalf of the Congress, I should say that we acknowledge an obligation of this Congress. It must have been a very grievous and distressing experience to have had one's children shunned in the community, from one community to another, and when because they were serving their Government they could not reveal exactly what their lives were. Unquestionably Mr. and Mrs. Golden must have been the subject of intensive investigation by the FBI before they were accepted in their assignment. As far as I am concerned, I do not know of a greater investigative agency than the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If they have been good enough for J. Edgar Hoover for the last 12 years they are good enough for me and this committee and the Congress. And I hope all the people, or the great majority of the people in this area have the pleasure to know that Mrs. Golden has been going to school and expects to get a certification of graduation or some recognition of her studies tonight and for one I wish you luck in your new life. And I hope that the friends who have shunned you in the past will understand why you devoted 12 long years of your life in a worthy undertaking for the Government of the United States.

I have no particular questions. There are certain areas of information that can not now, at least, be revealed from these two witnesses. I do not know whether we will be permitted to do that later. Our staff will have to decide that question.

Governor Tuck, are there any questions you would like to ask?

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that I wholeheartedly concur in the statement which you have made on behalf of this committee. I want to join in your words and appreciation of the patriotic services rendered by these two witnesses. As they have testified a number of questions occurred to my mind that I might like to ask. But for fear that I might trespass and transgress some of those areas which it might not be in the public interest to have disclosed, I will withhold any questions that I may have in mind.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, of course I join in the sentiments expressed by my two colleagues. I happen to know something of the type of service that these two people rendered to the Government of the United States. There is no question that this Government now, as of this moment, is facing the greatest threat to its very existence. These people have had a part in helping this Government offset that threat, at least to offset the threat from within.

I join in the sentiments expressed by my two colleagues and the staff.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m. March 10, 1959, the hearing was recessed until 2 p.m. of the same day. Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Scherer.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1959

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Scherer.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel, please call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Alex Staber, please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

(Representative Tuck entered the room.)

Mr. STABER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to present a motion.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STABER. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER STABER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
HYMEN SCHLESINGER**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly be seated.

Mr. STABER. I would like to present a motion.

Mr. ARENS. Please be seated.

Mr. STABER. You mean I am not allowed to present a motion?

Mr. ARENS. Please be seated. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. STABER. My name is Alexander Staber. I live at D62 Talbot Towers, Braddock, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. Your occupation, please, sir?

Mr. STABER. Due to the nature of this inquiry, I am going to claim my rights under the first amendment of free speech, free opinion, and I want to invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, sir, if you told this committee your occupation while you are under oath you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman, may I address the Chair?

Mr. ARENS. Would you please answer the question?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. The rules of the committee, as counsel knows, are to advise his client of his rights. There is a pending question.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. I want to move to quash the subpoena because of the invasion of the right to counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Would you advise your client, please, sir?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman, I am addressing the Chair.

Mr. SCHERER. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, would you please answer the question?

Mr. WILLIS. Counsel knows the rules.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel please restrain yourself.

Mr. WILLIS. Witness is here and there is a pending question relative to his occupation, I believe.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, sir, if you told this committee while you are under oath what your occupation is you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. I claim my rights under the first amendment of free opinion, and I invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel honestly if you told this committee what your occupation is you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman, I ask—

Mr. STABER. The same answer, first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. STABER. The same answer, the first and fifth.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question because the question counsel asked him was merely to test this witness' good faith in invoking the fifth amendment. The courts have indicated that that question should be asked by this committee when it is not sure that the witness is invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, that is unquestionably true.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. In answer to occupation question in this case—

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest counsel be advised his sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise his client.

Mr. SCHLESINGER (continuing). Terminated.

Mr. WILLIS. The situation is this: It is up to the witness to invoke the right of the fifth amendment as he has a perfect right to. But the point is that in order to invoke that privilege there must be an apprehension that it might tend to incriminate him and so on, as counsel well knows, and the question is whether or not he is honestly invoking it.

If he has apprehensions that by telling us his occupation it might put him in jeopardy, it is up to his conscience, but I order him to answer that question, or to answer whether or not he apprehends that it might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. STABER. I apprehend this question will put me in jeopardy, therefore I am invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to the subpoena that was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. STABER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STABER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, you should be advised again that your sole and exclusive prerogative here is to advise the witness.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. The witness wants to make a motion and tried to make a motion, and he wouldn't be listened to.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Counsel, please restrain yourself.

Mr. Witness, please tell this committee—

Mr. SCHLESINGER. May I finish my sentence?

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. I was cut off in the middle.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Consultation between this witness—

Mr. ARENS. Restrain yourself. Let counsel be advised his sole—

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Spies and informers on this witness—

Mr. ARENS. As counsel well knows the rules of the committee—

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Your Honor, this committee has violated the constitutional right.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will proceed and answer the outstanding question.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. What was the question?

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. STABER. I was born December 11, 1919, in the community of Ardmore, otherwise known as Forest Hills, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. Give us if you please, sir, a brief sketch of your education.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. I am invoking the privilege of the fifth on the question—put me in jeopardy.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully about your education you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. I honestly think this question is a link in the chain that will put me in jeopardy. Therefore I am using the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been engaged in your present occupation?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. STABER. I am invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What occupation did you have immediately prior to your present occupation?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. ARENS. We should like to display to you now a document, which has been identified in this record as Golden Exhibit No. 1, entitled "Unions Are Their Target." It attacks this committee, tells about the terrible things this committee is doing and is signed by the Independent Voters League, Post Office Box 7314, Pittsburgh, 13, Pa., Alexander Staber, secretary.

Kindly look at the exhibit and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of a document of which you were one of the authors.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. May I read this out loud?

Mr. ARENS. Kindly respond to the question, sir.

Mr. STABER. What is the question, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Did you author the document that has just been displayed to you?

Mr. STABER. I would like to read it to see.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. The question is very simple. There is no necessity for you to make a spectacle reading it out loud. Read it to yourself and answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. In view of the testimony of the informers this morning I am claiming the first amendment and the privilege of the fifth.

Mr. SCHERER. You said in view of the testimony of the informers this morning. I assume you are referring to the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Golden. Is that right?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. Those are the informers and stool pigeons I am referring to.

Mr. ARENS. I want you to tell this committee, then, in what respect was the testimony of the Goldenes untrue?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First amendment and the fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. ARENS. You called them informers. We are giving you an opportunity to state now whether or not anything they said to this committee this morning is untrue.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. You refuse to tell the committee?

Mr. STABER. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. When the Goldenes identified you as a member of the Communist Party, were they telling this committee a truth or an untruth this morning?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. When they stated that you were in Mr. Schlesinger's office last Saturday with other witnesses and Communists who had been subpoenaed to appear before this committee, were they telling the truth to this committee or were they telling an untruth?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. I claim the privileges of the sixth amendment, the right to counsel, and I would like to make this motion.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer my question. He said these people were informers, and I want to know in what respect these people misinformed this committee this morning.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. STABER. I am still claiming the rights of the sixth amendment to get counsel and privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed. Ask the next question.

Mr. ARENS. When the Goldenes testified this morning that the parties who attended that meeting were members of the Communist Party, were they telling this committee the truth or an untruth?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. The sixth and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. When the Goldenes told this committee this morning that at this meeting in Schlesinger's office last Saturday the insertion of the ads which appeared in this morning's Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

was discussed, were they telling the truth to this committee or were they misrepresenting the facts in any way?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. The first, the sixth, and the fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. You mean you refuse to answer and invoke those provisions of the Constitution in refusing to answer?

Mr. STABER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have anything to do with the placing of this ad by the Independent Voters League in that newspaper here in Pittsburgh?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. I am using the first amendment, freedom of the press, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the Alexander Staber whose name appears on the ad in this morning's Pittsburgh newspaper?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. The first amendment, freedom of the press, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. On Saturday in Mr. Schlesinger's office you were still under the impression at that time that the Goldens were members of the Communist Party, were you not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. The sixth amendment, the right to counsel, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. In fact at that time you knew they were members of the Communist Party, but did not know that they were undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation; is that not right?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. Sixth, right to counsel, and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. At that time you and Mr. Schlesinger there, your counsel, and the others present were discussing with them how you would bait this committee when you and the other witnesses appeared before this committee, were you not?

Mr. STABER. First amendment, right to free speech; the sixth, right to counsel; and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. And the able Mr. Schlesinger was advising those witnesses how to bait this committee and how to answer the questions that were asked, was he not, at that meeting?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. Sixth amendment, right to counsel, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were the Goldens telling this committee the truth when they said that Clark Foreman, of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which placed the other ad in the Pittsburgh press, was present at the meeting in Mr. Schlesinger's office on Saturday?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First amendment, right to free speech; sixth amendment, right to counsel, free speech, and press; fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Who gave you the information contained in the ad about the voting records of the members of this committee? Who gave you that information?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First amendment, freedom of the press; fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you think it would incriminate you to tell this committee where you got the information that you used in an ad that you placed in the press?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. I have reasonable grounds as to my apprehension, and I am claiming the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Did you satisfy yourself before you placed that ad in the press that the facts stated in that ad were true or untrue, particularly with reference to voting records?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First amendment, freedom of press: fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did any member of the Communist Party supply you with the information contained in that ad?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First amendment and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. As of this moment, you are a member of the Communist Party, a hard-core member of the Communist Party, are you not?

Mr. STABER. First amendment and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Staber, it is the information of this committee that you have been recently designated by a hierarchy of the conspiracy in the United States to be the successor in these parts to Steve Nelson. I should like now to put it to you as a fact, sir, that you have been designated as the successor to Steve Nelson in the Greater Pittsburgh area of the Communist Party and ask you while you are under oath to affirm or deny that fact.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Joseph Rudiak, whose name appears as president of the Independent Voters League on that exhibit?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. The Committee on Un-American Activities is undertaking to solicit information, tedious, difficult as it may be, respecting the operation of the international Communist conspiracy, which is out to destroy freedom everywhere and to destroy the Constitution of the United States. Its purpose is to submit that information to the U.S. Congress that it there may undertake to devise legislation and amendments to existing laws to cope with this conspiratorial apparatus which would overthrow this Government by force and violence.

Do you, sir, now have information, current information, respecting the techniques, strategies, tactics, and activities of that Communist conspiracy in the Pittsburgh area?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STABER. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

(The witness excused.)

Mr. SCHLESINGER. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to move to quash the subpoena to this witness and the interference of right to counsel. May I hand the motion?

Mr. WILLIS. Hand it to our director. We will have it for our records.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, the next witness, if you please. Alex Steinberg, please come forward. Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. STEINBERG. I object to being televised.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEINBERG. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. The rules of the committee are that until a witness is sworn he is, of course, not under the jurisdiction of this committee, but upon being sworn if he makes the request it must be respected. The TV people will act accordingly.

TESTIMONY OF ALEX STEINBERG, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HYMEN SCHLESINGER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. STEINBERG. My name is Alex Steinberg.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to keep your voice up, please?

Mr. STEINBERG. My name is Alex Steinberg.

Mr. SCHERER. I can't hear the witness from here.

Mr. STEINBERG. Alex Steinberg. Can you hear?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. STEINBERG. 5542 Jackson Street, Pittsburgh.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, please?

Mr. STEINBERG. In view of the fact that I believe this committee is trying to deprive me of my means of earning a livelihood, I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you refusing to answer because you feel we are trying to deprive you of a livelihood or because you fear that your answer might incriminate you?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Which is your basic reason for refusing to answer?

Mr. STEINBERG. Mr. Counsel, I believe that—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. Mr. Chairman, I believe that this will put me in reasonable apprehension of jeopardy, and I claim the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. STEINBERG. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you please identify yourself on this record?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. My name is Hymen Schlesinger, and I am a member of the Allegheny County Bar. I practice law in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment, Mr. Steinberg?

Mr. STEINBERG. I invoke my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your present employment?

Mr. STEINBERG. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been employed in any activity since you reached adulthood concerning which you can tell this committee without revealing information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. STEINBERG. My answer is the same.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. STEINBERG. I was born in Pittsburgh, July 11, 1914.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you educated?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. I claim the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Is that because you were in attendance at Communist Party training schools part of the time?

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first occupation after you completed your education?

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Have you always been known by the name of Alex Steinberg?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Steinberg, this morning Mr. and Mrs. Hamp Golden, testified under oath before this committee that for a period of time while they were members of the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to get information to help protect this country against this conspiracy, they knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party. We would like to give you an opportunity now, while you are under oath, to deny that assertion. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this minute, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEINBERG. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you are now a member of the Nationality Committee of the Communist Party in Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. STEINBERG. Is that a question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of an organization called the Independent Voters League?

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that since 1949 you have been in the underground apparatus of this conspiracy operating in the Pittsburgh area. If that is not true, deny it, sir, while you are under oath.

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a Mr. and Mrs. Hamp Golden?

Mr. STEINBERG. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEINBERG. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that in the presence of this witness another witness be sworn.

Mr. WILLIS. Let that be done.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hardin, kindly come forward. Remain standing, if you please, sir. Raise your right hand while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear, sir, that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HARDIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF R. J. HARDIN

Mr. ARENS. Please state your full name.

Mr. HARDIN. R. J. Hardin.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hardin, what is your occupation?

Mr. HARDIN. I am employed at Domestic Machine Co. as a helper.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARDIN. I have.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to interrogate you at length in a few moments, but for the present over what period of time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARDIN. Off and on from the year of 1931 until 1954.

Mr. ARENS. During all that period of time were you a member of the Communist Party serving your Government at the behest of security agencies and police agencies?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your membership in the Communist Party, did you know as a Communist a man by the name of Alex Steinberg?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see in the courtroom now the man you knew as a Communist by the name of Alexander Steinberg?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes. That is Mr. Steinberg. That is Mr. Alex Steinberg.

Mr. ARENS. Is he the man that has just been testifying?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

TESTIMONY OF ALEX STEINBERG—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Steinberg, you have just heard the testimony of Mr. Hardin that while he was in the Communist Party at the behest of police agencies to serve these agencies he knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party. So there will be no question of these faceless informers, look at this man now in your presence and tell this committee while you are under oath, was he telling the truth or was he in error when he just identified you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEINBERG. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of Mr. Steinberg, and I respectfully suggest Mr. Hardin be requested to assume the witness chair because we have a few more questions to ask him.

Mr. WILLIS. One second.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman, I should like to make the same motion to quash the subpoena as to Mr. Alexander Steinberg as was made in connection with Mr. Alexander Staber and for the same reason.

Mr. WILLIS. What was that?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. I am making the same motion with reference to Mr. Alexander Steinberg that I made with reference to Mr. Staber. I would like to be heard on it.

Mr. WILLIS. Our rules permit a person to file papers or statements with the director for our consideration.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. It is a motion to quash a subpoena.

Mr. WILLIS. The motion is received and as usual, it will be received by the staff.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. I think it is a different category, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hardin, will you kindly return to the witness chair, and Counsel, would you kindly retire, if you please?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. A pleasure.

TESTIMONY OF R. J. HARDIN—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hardin, you have been sworn a few moments ago and in the course of very brief testimony at that time stated, did you not, that for some period of years, beginning in about 1930 or 1931, up to and including about 1954, you were a member of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes, sir, off and on. I wasn't all the time.

Mr. ARENS. During that period of time you served solely and exclusively at the instigation and request of police agencies and our Government; did you not?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes, police agencies and the FBI.

Mr. ARENS. At no time were you in sympathy with the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Just tell us, if you please, sir, the highlights of the places where you served in the Communist Party, beginning, as I understand, in Danville, Va.

Mr. HARDIN. I was a member of the Communist Party at High Point, N.C. for a period of 6 or 8 months. I joined at the request of police organizations. My job there was to check on the activities, the movements of the Communists. There had been a lot of trouble down in that part of the country, a lot of bombings and killings, and the police organizations were checking on it.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you maintain your then membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. HARDIN. At High Point?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARDIN. About 6 or 8 months.

Mr. ARENS. When was the next experience you had within the Communist Party?

Mr. HARDIN. In Danville, Va., from 1934 until 1937.

Mr. ARENS. And tell us just a word about your activity there.

Mr. HARDIN. I joined the Communist Party in Danville, Va., in 1934 at the request of a police organization, the police commissioner of Danville.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you serve in the Communist Party there?

Mr. HARDIN. Approximately 3 years.

Mr. ARENS. Then what was your next service in the Communist Party?

Mr. HARDIN. I joined the Communist Party again in the year of 1943 in Ebensburg Pa., at the request of Government men.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you serve then?

Mr. HARDIN. I reported Communist activities to the Government agencies to 1954, December 8.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hardin, the scope of the inquiry of this committee is confined to certain items which the chairman has specified in his opening statement. Therefore, we do not propose in this hearing now to interrogate you at length on a number of items on which we know you possess information. You have testified extensively in staff interrogations, have you not?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Under oath?

Mr. HARDIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You have been interviewed and worked with our staff on a number of items, have you not?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. For present purposes I expect to interrogate you only with respect to about half a dozen or so persons in the Pittsburgh area as to whether or not to your certain knowledge as a member of the Communist Party these persons were Communists, members of the Communist Party.

First of all, the man who has just preceded you to the witness stand, Alexander Steinberg. Tell us a word about the basis upon which you know he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HARDIN. Mr. Steinberg and I attended Communist Party meetings in Pittsburgh together, well, I will be very conservative about it, 3 or 4 or 5 years, maybe longer. He was a member of the policymaking committee in this district.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Alex Staber as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. He is the man who preceded Mr. Steinberg to the witness stand, is he not?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Nathan Albert as a Communist?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about him, please.

Mr. HARDIN. I attended policymaking meetings of the Communist Party with Mr. Albert during the years of 1948 and 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist, Edmund Lange? L-a-n-g-e?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And give us a word about him, please.

Mr. HARDIN. I saw Mr. Lange at Communist Party meetings in 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. HARDIN. He attended closed Communist Party meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Viola S-c-h-m-i-d-t?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And a word about her, please.

Mr. HARDIN. I attended a large number of Communist Party meetings with Miss Schmidt.

Mr. ARENS. Miriam S-c-h-u-l-t-z?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In passing may I ask, and I don't believe I asked you this before, even in our interrogations privately, and I should have. Did you know the Goldens as Communists?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes. I saw them at meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever work with them as Communists?

Mr. HARDIN. No. I went to Communist Party meetings. I have seen them. I never saw them at very many meetings, but I saw——

Mr. ARENS. They were in different units of the conspiracy than you, were they not?

Mr. HARDIN. They were around some of the policymaking committees, a few, Mr. Golden was.

Mr. ARENS. Joe Rudiak?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. HARDIN. I saw him at policymaking meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Steve Devunich, D-e-v-u-n-i-c-h?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And a word about him?

Mr. HARDIN. He attended Communist Party meetings. He was a close friend of Roy Hudson.

Mr. ARENS. Anna Devunich? Is she Steve Devunich's wife?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And did she attend the policy meetings?

Mr. HARDIN. Yes. She attended meetings. I didn't see her in as many as her husband.

Mr. ARENS. Beginning about the time you left the Communist Party, the operation was going deeper and deeper underground, was it not?

Mr. HARDIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us a word from the standpoint of the importance of the coal industry to the Communist operation in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. HARDIN. The leaders of the Communist Party from New York and all over the country, they class Pittsburgh as the most important part of the country due to the heavy concentration of steel and coal, more especially the coal. Roy Hudson made the statement to me, "The party that controlled the coal controlled the Nation," and they made a special effort to get a large number of Communist Party members among the coal miners.

Mr. ARENS. You worked in the coal sections of Pennsylvania in the Communist Party, did you not?

Mr. HARDIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. We have taken extensive testimony under oath from you in executive session on that issue, have we not?

Mr. HARDIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we have no further questions of this witness at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. Although you were representing a police agency of government while you were a member of the Communist Party, you did not know that the Goldens, who were also members of the Communist Party, were undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the same time?

Mr. HARDIN. No, I did not.

Mr. WILLIS. That is the way the FBI operates.

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. We appreciate your appearance, Mr. Hardin, and we are indebted to you for the valuable contributions you have made to law and order and preservation of and perpetuation of our institutions in America. On behalf of the subcommittee, the full committee, and the Congress, we salute you.

Mr. HARDIN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Esther Wilda Steinberg. Please come forward. Remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mrs. STEINBERG. I would like to object to being televised.

Mr. WILLIS. After you are sworn. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. STEINBERG. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. Now you are under our jurisdiction. TV people and photographers will respect our rule, please.

TESTIMONY OF ESTHER STEINBERG, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HYMEN SCHLESINGER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. STEINBERG. My name is Esther Steinberg. I live at 5524 Jackson Street, Pittsburgh 6.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, please?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. I decline to answer that on the grounds of first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Solely for the purpose of identification, are you the wife of Alexander Steinberg, who preceded you to the witness stand?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, if you told this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are the wife of Alexander Steinberg, solely for the purpose of identification, you

would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. In view of what has been stated before I have reasonable apprehension of jeopardy and claim the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. I think I catch on to counsel's advice. I used the word "jeopardy" in a loose sense awhile ago. But I think counsel knows it is not the correct presentation of the invocation. So I would prefer that you make a direct answer to the question as propounded by counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee whether or not you are the wife of Alexander Steinberg, solely for the purpose of identification, you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. That might be a link in a chain, and I claim the privileges of the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. I was born in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. And a word about your education.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. I have reasonable grounds for apprehension, and I claim the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you attended Communist Party training schools?

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used any name other than the name "Steinberg" since you have been married?

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Can you help us on this Housewives Protest Committee? Were you one of the instigators of that group known as the Housewives Protest Committee here in the Pittsburgh area?

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Mary Golden?

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mary Golden testified this morning under oath that she knew you as a member of the Communist Party. We would like to give you an opportunity now to deny that identification of yourself as a member of the Communist Party. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. STEINBERG. I do not dignify the statements of an informer, and I claim the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Was she misrepresenting to this committee when she said you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you changed your opinion of Mrs. Golden since 10 o'clock this morning?

Mrs. STEINBERG. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you met with Mrs. Golden in the course of the last few days?

Mrs. STEINBERG. I claim the privileges of the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. When were you last in telephone conversation with Mrs. Golden?

Mrs. STEINBERG. I claim the privileges of the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. In what groups are you active here in Pittsburgh?

Mrs. STEINBERG. I claim the privileges of the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully under oath about your activities in groups and organizations in the Pittsburgh area, that you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. STEINBERG. My answer is the same. I claim the privileges of the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

I would like to announce that the witnesses thus far have apparently overlooked signing their witness fee vouchers here. As they probably know, or could be advised by counsel, they are entitled to their witness fees. It is customary. If they sign a voucher, it will be paid to them.

Mrs. STEINBERG. I will be there, Mr. Arens, after the session. Now or either way.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. May I ask the Chair if it is required that the witnesses sign for their money. If it is not required, I am going to advise all of them not to sign.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel's sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise the clients.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Merely a matter of inquiry, Your Honor.

Mr. ARENS. They have to sign to get their witness fee.

Mr. WILLIS. They have to sign if they want to be eligible to receive the witness fee. That is the rule.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. You say it is required? If it is required, then we have no choice. I will advise them to sign. If it is not required—

Mr. WILLIS. If they do not want their money, they do not have to sign, of course not. If they want their witness fee, they must sign the voucher.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. They are entitled to that. But if they are not required to sign to get their witness fee, then, of course, they won't. If they have to sign to get their witness fee, I will advise them to sign. Thank you.

Mrs. STEINBERG. I don't know what am I supposed to do now.

Mr. WILLIS. I do not know if you want to take the advice or not.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. She may be excused?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. Witness excused.

We will take an informal recess for just a few minutes, and then the witnesses who have previously testified may sign their vouchers in order to claim their witness fee.

(Brief in recess.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Scherer.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Counsel, will you call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, before calling the next witness, if it meets with your pleasure, I should like to make an announcement and then make a request of the chairman. Two persons who were under subpoena to appear today have produced doctors' certificates or similar representations respecting their state of health. A Mr. Meyran Schroeder, M-e-y-r-a-n S-c-h-r-o-e-d-e-r, also known as Mr. Morris S-h-i-n-d-l-e-r, has produced a doctor's certificate to the effect that he is being hospitalized as of March 8. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest you order that his appearance, pursuant to this subpoena, be continued until such time as he has recovered, or such time as he is in physical condition to appear.

Mr. WILLIS. They were both served?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Let the record show the service and let it be understood that they will remain under subpoena, the subpoenas remain outstanding, the service remains, but their appearance will be deferred to a later date.

Mr. ARENS. And the second party is Genne Eva Kuhn from West Virginia, who has a similar situation, and we respectfully request a similar order.

Mr. WILLIS. A similar order will be in effect.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, do you have any knowledge whether this witness, Shindler, was actually in the hospital at that time? I notice the letter says arrangements have been made for him to enter Presbyterian Hospital on March 8, 1959. I am wondering whether you know whether he actually entered the hospital.

Mr. ARENS. I do not know, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Can the staff investigate or determine whether he actually went to the hospital?

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir, we will do that.

Mr. SCHERER. This is confusing. This doctor's certificate was signed on March 2, 1959; and in a paper called The Progress (Pennsylvania Township Paper), issue of March 5, 1959, there is a news article which contains a letter written by Maurice Shindler which indicates he is going to appear before the committee and will invoke the fifth amendment. The letter also, of course, contains an attack upon the committee and indicates that his identification before this committee by Matthew Cvetic back in 1950, is untrue. I am wondering how we had this doctor's certificate as early as March 2, when this letter, written purportedly by this same witness, appeared in The Progress under date of March 5?

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Scherer, may I explain that?

Mr. WILLIS. Let the staff look into it.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask the staff to investigate that.

Mr. ARENS. Ready for the next witness, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Joseph Rudiak, kindly come forward.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUDIAK. I do.

I object to being photographed, televised, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. The rule previously announced will be respected, please.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me just a minute on this Shindler matter. Did we grant him a continuation to a later date? Does the record show granting a continuation?

Mr. ARENS. The record will reflect I believe, Mr. Scherer, the chairman granted that a continuation subpoena will be in effect.

Mr. WILLIS. I deferred appearance for today. We are going to be here on Thursday.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I mean. Deferred appearance—because I think this thing should be explained.

Mr. WILLIS. Prima facie case has been made for it today.

He is to remain under subpoena. The staff will look into it. Whether or not he will be recalled tomorrow or Thursday or later will be determined.

Mr. ARENS. Has the witness been sworn, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. The witness has been sworn.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH RUDIAK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HYMEN SCHLESINGER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. RUDIAK. Joseph Rudiak, 1908 Jane Street, Pittsburgh, South Side.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly complete your answer?

Mr. RUDIAK. What was the question?

Mr. ARENS. Would you please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. RUDIAK. I said my name was Joseph Rudiak, 1908 Jane Street, South Side Pittsburgh.

Mr. ARENS. And kindly complete your answer.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. As far as my occupation is concerned, I believe I am reasonably under apprehension that by giving my occupation it would jeopardize, I would jeopardize myself.

I claim the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel if you told this committee what your occupation is you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. It would be a link in the chain. I claim the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Rudiak?

Mr. RUDIAK. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. You asked me—what was the question again?

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born, please?

Mr. RUDIAK. I answered that question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. RUDIAK. I was born April 21, 1911.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. RUDIAK. I was born in a shanty in Butler, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word, please, about your education.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I am going to invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you attended Communist Party training schools?

Mr. RUDIAK. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us of all the education you had, exclusive of any education you had or training you had from the Communist Party.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. Because it will be a link in the chain, I am invoking the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the Chair order and direct the witness to tell this committee of his education exclusive of any education he has had in the Communist Party, for the reason that there could not be any conceivable link in any chain of a man's education exclusive of his education and training by the Communist Party which could give a basis for a criminal action against him.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Counsel has heard of——

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that counsel here be admonished again his sole and exclusive prerogative as he knows or should know is to advise his client.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I can't understand your question. Here's the thing.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell this committee all of the education you have had exclusive of——

Mr. RUDIAK. I want to know whether you mean public schools, high schools, parochial schools.

Mr. ARENS. That is correct. Yes, if you please, sir, exclusive of any training you had by the Communist Party in its training schools. That is the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I went to public schools for about, I believe——

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Your counsel does not know that.

Mr. RUDIAK. Just don't know how many years I went to public schools.

Mr. WILLIS. Just approximately.

Mr. RUDIAK. Well, I went about 7 or 8 years——

Mr. WILLIS. Did you finish high school?

Mr. RUDIAK. To public schools.

Mr. ARENS. Did you finish high school?

Mr. RUDIAK. I also went while I went to public schools, I attended a language school catechism every Friday. I also attended high school approximately 3 years.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your formal education?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I don't understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your education?

Mr. RUDIAK. What education?

Mr. ARENS. You went to high school?

Mr. RUDIAK. Public schools.

Mr. ARENS. Did you go to high school, please, sir?

Mr. RUDIAK. Went to high school.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your high school training?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Approximately, your best recollection, if you please, sir.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. Somewhere in the twenties.

Mr. ARENS. And did you pursue any college courses, any courses in college?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. Do you mean a recognized college?

Mr. ARENS. Any college.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I am asking any recognized colleges?

Mr. SCHERER. Recognized or unrecognized.

Mr. RUDIAK. I did not.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about the unrecognized colleges that you attended.

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendment. I would like to have a drink of water here with another glass here. I am dry.

Mr. ARENS. Help yourself, sir.

Mr. RUDIAK. I want a clean glass here.

Mr. ARENS. See that he has a clean glass, please.

Mr. Witness, have you told us of all of the education you have had exclusive of any education under Communist auspices?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I am invoking the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I don't think you understand me. You told us you have gone to high school, have you not?

Mr. RUDIAK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Where else have you gone to school? Where else have you been trained exclusive of any Communist training?

Mr. RUDIAK. I told you I went to public school, I went to high school, and I also went to Catholic catechism school.

Mr. ARENS. Have you gone to any other schools?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been trained in Communist leadership training schools?

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time was the last training of any kind you have had?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you last in school, training schools of any kind?

Mr. RUDIAK. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. How long after you completed this course in high school did you assume your next training or next educational activity?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What name have you used other than the name Rudiak? Have I asked you about that—whether I have or not, I will ask you again. What name have you used other than the name Rudiak?

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. We want to display to you "Golden Exhibit No. 1," entitled, "Unions Are Their Target." It is a leaflet issued by the Independent Voters League and lists Joseph Rudiak as president, Alex Staber, as secretary. Would you kindly look at the document as it is being displayed to you and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not you are the Joseph Rudiak who is president of the Independent Voters League and whether or not you caused this leaflet to be produced?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I am invoking the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you caused to be produced this leaflet which has been displayed to you, and whether or not you are the Joseph Rudiak, president of the Independent Voters League, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. It could be a link in a chain. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this minute, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. and Mrs. Golden testified this morning under oath that while they were members of the Communist Party at the behest of the FBI they knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party. Were they telling the truth or were they in error?

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What organizations do you belong to now?

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Now can you tell us the organizations you belong to of a non-Communist variety?

Mr. RUDIAK. I belong to—I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. How many organizations do you belong to?

Mr. RUDIAK. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now possessed of information respecting the techniques, activities, strategy, and tactics of the Communist conspiracy, which is to destroy this very Government under whose flag you, sir, have protection?

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. I have one or two questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Rudiak, as president of the Independent Voters League, when did you submit the ad which appeared in this morning's Pittsburgh press, attacking this committee?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the freedom of the press and the fifth amendment, and freedom of the press covers the first amendment under the Bill of Rights.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you deny that you are the president of the Independent Voters League?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first amendment, which gives me the privilege of freedom of assembly, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean you do not want to tell the public that you put this ad in the paper. That is all we want to know. What does that have to do with freedom of the press?

Mr. RUDIAK. The first amendment under the Bill of Rights gives everybody the freedom of assembly.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that.

Mr. RUDIAK. You understand that. And also I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. TUCK. He sure has freedom of speech.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. and Mrs. Golden testified this morning that you were at this strategy meeting in Mr. Schlesinger's office on last Saturday.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Their testimony is correct in that respect, is it not?

Mr. RUDIAK. Could I address you, Congressman Scherer, is that it? I have the Bill of Rights with me here, as provided in the original amendments to the Constitution of the United States. This is a copy. I am invoking the sixth amendment, and I will read it.

* * * to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you in the hearing room this morning when—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Are you ready so I can proceed? Were you in the hearing room this morning when Mr. and Mrs. Golden identified you as a member of the Communist Party and as a participant in this strategy meeting?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. And also as the president of the Independent Voters League: were you here this morning, and heard that testimony?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to whether he was here this morning. He read the sixth amendment, which says he has the right to be confronted face to face with his accuser, and I just wanted to know. I saw him back there, and I just want to know now whether he heard that testimony. We want him to tell us whether he heard that testimony.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. He invoked the sixth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. The simple question was whether you were in the courtroom this morning when Mr. and Mrs. Golden testified, and I have been asked to direct you to answer that question. I think that is a proper request.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. You are not being asked about anything else.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. So I direct you to answer that simple question.

Mr. RUDIAK. I heard testimony by two informers this morning.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, to direct the witness to answer the question. He said he heard testimony by two informers. I ask whether or not he was present when Mr. and Mrs. Golden testified.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. I direct you to answer that question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I was here when two persons were called on by the committee and gave their names.

Mr. WILLIS. We are not going to waste any more time. You don't have to answer it. I direct you to answer it directly.

Mr. RUDIAK. They gave their names as Golden.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know those people before this morning?

Mr. RUDIAK. I am invoking the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. You just read the sixth amendment and said that you have a right to be confronted by witnesses who accuse or identify you. Did you hear in this hearing room this morning, Mr. and Mrs. Golden identify you as a member of the Communist Party, as being present at the strategy meeting at Mr. Schlesinger's office on last Saturday, and as being president of the Independent Voters League? Did you hear that testimony?

Mr. RUDIAK. Is that the question? Is that a question?

Mr. SCHERER. That is a question. I am not asking whether it is true or not. I am just asking you whether you heard that testimony.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I wasn't paying any attention to what they were saying.

Mr. SCHERER. You didn't pay any attention to it.

Mr. Golden, would you step forward a minute?

TESTIMONY OF HAMP L. GOLDEN—Resumed

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Golden, do you know the witness seated there?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. How long have you known him?

Mr. GOLDEN. Approximately 10 to 12 years.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDEN. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he a member of the Communist Party as late as last Saturday?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he present in the strategy meeting in Mr. Schlesinger's office?

Mr. GOLDEN. He was so named in the testimony this morning, yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Is this Mr. Rudiak the president of the Independent Voters League as you testified this morning?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, the meeting in Mr. Schlesinger's office was arranged about a week before, was it not?

Mr. GOLDEN. Some 2 or 3 days I knew of it. It could have been arranged prior.

Mr. SCHERER. Who made the arrangement?

Mr. GOLDEN. I don't know for sure who made it, but I was called by Alex Staber to attend the meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. You didn't go to see a lawyer then, you were just called to attend the meeting?

Mr. GOLDEN. That is right and get our instructions how to proceed.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Mr. Staber at the meeting when you got there?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes. They were all present, and my wife and I.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Mr. Rudiak at the meeting?

Mr. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. All right. That is all.

Mrs. Golden, would you mind stepping forward?

TESTIMONY OF MARY GOLDEN—Resumed

Mr. SCHERER. Mrs. Golden, do you know the witness seated there at your left?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know him as James Rudiak?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Joe Rudiak.

Mr. SCHERER. I beg your pardon. Joe Rudiak?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know him to be a member of Communist Party while you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he also president of the Independent Voters League?

Mrs. GOLDEN. I never attended meetings in that group.

Mr. SCHERER. Were the ads that were to be placed in the paper discussed at the Schlesinger meeting?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he participate in the discussion?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Now when was the meeting in the Schlesinger office arranged?

Mrs. GOLDEN. My husband was told about it the Saturday previously when he attended an Independent Voters League meeting at the Roosevelt Hotel and he received a phone call during the week notifying him of this meeting that took place Saturday.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Schlesinger was not your lawyer, was he?

Mrs. GOLDEN. No, sir. We were told to see the Lawyer Referral Service, contact other organizations to try and get a lawyer.

Mr. SCHERER. Who told you to contact the Lawyer Referral Service?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Mr. Schlesinger.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he tell you that as well as some of the other witnesses?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes. Everyone should try and get a lawyer. If they can't get their own, go to the Lawyer Referral Service.

Mr. SCHERER. Go to the Lawyer Referral Service?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And that statement was made at the meeting in Mr. Schlesinger's office on Saturday?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Was anything further said as to what a person should do if he could not get a lawyer from the Lawyer Referral Service?

Mrs. GOLDEN. See Hymen before the hearings this morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. SCHERER. See who before the hearings?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Schlesinger. He said, "See me this morning before the hearings. Don't go in without a lawyer."

Mr. SCHERER. Was that conversation addressed to all of the people present?

Mrs. GOLDEN. Yes, sir. It was told to me as I was leaving the meeting at 4:30. "Make sure you have a lawyer." And then I was told to contact Esther Steinberg to let her know whether I had got my own attorney, and as late as last night I called about 10 o'clock, and I talked to Alex Steinberg, and I told him that I'd gotten—

Mr. SCHERER. That is all. You may be seated. Fine.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH RUDIAK—Resumed

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Rudiak, you heard the testimony of these two witnesses. Is there anything about their testimony that is untrue?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I am invoking the right to counsel, the sixth amendment, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You are invoking what? Is the sixth amendment—is that the only amendment that you invoke?

Mr. RUDIAK. And the fifth.

Mr. SCHERER. And the fifth.

You would not say that any part of the testimony of these people whom you refer to as informers is untrue then, would you?

Mr. RUDIAK. I am invoking the first and fifth amendments to the Bill of Rights.

Mr. SCHERER. The fact is, Mr. Rudiak, you are the one who as president of the Independent Voters League called the meeting in Schlesinger's office, are you not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RUDIAK. I am invoking the sixth amendment, right to counsel, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Viola Schmidt.

Kindly come forward and please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. Kindly raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss SCHMIDT. I do, and I do object to being televised.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Miss SCHMIDT. And I also protest, Mr. Chairman, I think they are taking undue advantage of a woman.

Mr. WILLIS. Put out the television lights please.

Miss SCHMIDT. I mean it, too.

Mr. WILLIS. Respect that rule please.

TESTIMONY OF VIOLA SCHMIDT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HYMEN SCHLESINGER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss SCHMIDT. My name is Viola Schmidt, as you know.

Mr. SCHERER. Raise your voice. We cannot hear you.

Miss SCHMIDT. My name is Viola Schmidt. My address is 3454 Ward Street.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, please?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Gentlemen, I must stand on my rights.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon?

Miss SCHMIDT. Can you hear me now? Would this help any?

Mr. SCHERER. We cannot hear way up here.

Miss SCHMIDT. My voice isn't very large. I know it.

Mr. SCHERER. I think if you get close to the mike we can.

Miss SCHMIDT. I must stand on my rights. The first and fifth amendments to the Constitution in refusing to answer that question because that could possibly do me harm.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel you could be prosecuted criminally if you told this committee what your occupation is?

Miss SCHMIDT. Gentlemen, it might possibly be a link in the chain which might jeopardize me and I must stand on these rights.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Miss SCHMIDT. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Miss SCHMIDT. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. My name is Hymen Schlesinger, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. And, Counsel, you represented the two previous witnesses, I believe? We failed to get that on the record.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. Yes, that is true.

Mr. ARENS. Now, ma'am tell us where you were born.

Miss SCHMIDT. I was born in Pittsburgh.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Miss SCHMIDT. August 22, 1921.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your education.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Gentlemen, again I must claim my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States in refusing to answer that question because it could possibly be a link in a chain which might possibly injure me.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend high school?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Fifth Avenue High School.

Mr. ARENS. When did you graduate, if you did graduate?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. I have no objection to answering that question. However, I am a little hazy about the year in which I graduated.

Mr. ARENS. Your best recollection.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. I would say approximately 1939, 1940, 1941.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. I had 4 years of university training.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Duquesne University.

Mr. ARENS. Did you graduate?

Miss SCHMIDT. When? That was, I believe, 1945.

Mr. ARENS. In what course did you receive your degree?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Field of education.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. I took further courses toward a master's degree.

Mr. ARENS. Where, please?

Miss SCHMIDT. Duquesne.

Mr. ARENS. Did that then complete your formal education?

Miss SCHMIDT. Well—

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. Well, if by that you mean public schools.

Mr. ARENS. Non-Communist we will stipulate for the moment.

Miss SCHMIDT. Education, then the answer would be "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. That completed your formal education. Now, tell us what other training you have had besides the training that you have just described on this record.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. I must claim my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mrs. ARENS. Have you received training by the Communist conspiracy in the Pittsburgh area?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist while you were in attendance at Duquesne University?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, at this moment, a Communist?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a lady by the name of Mary Golden?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mary Golden testified that while she was a member of the Communist Party she knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Was she truthful in that identification?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you Miss or Mrs. Schmidt?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. That surely can't incriminate me. I am Miss.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that you have been exceedingly active in promoting Communist programs and communism among youth groups in the Pittsburgh area. Would you now while you are under oath tell this committee whether or not you have been instrumental in promoting communism among the youth of this area?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What groups did you belong to when you were in attendance at Duquesne University?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the conspiratorial organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Constitution of the United States and the Government of the United States by force and violence?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend any meeting with other comrades in the course of the last 10 days in anticipation of your appearance here today?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. I believe this question is in violation of my rights of not only the first and fifth amendments, but the sixth amendment which entitled everyone—

Mr. ARENS. No; we will never concede it is in violation of any right. It is only a question we have a right to ask, and if you feel honestly that a truthful answer to that question might tend to give information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding you have a privilege under the Constitution to decline to answer that question.

Miss SCHMIDT. This also violates my right to counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Just so the record is clear. I am making an assertion it does not violate any rights. It is only an assertion by yourself that it violates a right. Kindly tell this committee your response to the principal question which is outstanding.

Miss SCHMIDT. I am sorry. I didn't get your question.

Mr. ARENS. The question is, Have you, since you were subpoenaed by this committee, been in session with persons known by you to be members of the Communist Party for the purpose of devising your strategy and tactics in your appearances before this committee today?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments and also the sixth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Viola Schmidt?

Miss SCHMIDT. First and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Nathan Albert.

Kindly come forward.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ALBERT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF NATHAN ALBERT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HARRY CAPLAN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ALBERT. My name is Nathan Albert. I live at 5121 Centre Avenue, Pittsburgh. Relation to the third part of that question, I claim the privilege of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. CAPLAN. Counsel would like to make a statement, please.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Albert, in response to a subpoena which has been served on you by this committee?

Mr. ALBERT. It is true, and I have counsel here with the help of the Pittsburgh Bar Association, who is sitting beside me, who says he wishes to make a statement.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself on this record?

Mr. CAPLAN. Gentlemen, I have just been here about 10 or 15 minutes. I am one of the attorneys here because of the referral service that is provided by the Allegheny County Bar Association. And as a servant of the court and as a member of that organization, I acceded to their insistent request that I be here as counsel for one of the gentlemen. I might say at that time——

Mr. WILLIS. That is perfectly proper.

Mr. CAPLAN. I am just making that statement just as a matter of record for whoever it may be.

Mr. WILLIS. We appreciate your remark. You have not identified yourself.

Mr. CAPLAN. My name is Harry Caplan. My address is 1308 Law and Finance Building here in Pittsburgh.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born, Mr. Albert?

Mr. ALBERT. I was born in Pittsburgh in 1910.

Mr. ARENS. And give us a word about your education.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. In relation to that question, I wish to claim the privilege of the first and fifth amendments, since there may be links that may lead to criminal proceedings.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend high school?

Mr. ALBERT. I claim the first and fifth in relation to that question also, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend college?

Mr. ALBERT. I claim the same grounds on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend Communist Party training schools, underground training schools?

Mr. ALBERT. I will claim the privileges of the first and fifth amendments to that question.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I will use the first and fifth amendments on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you employed at the Montefiore Hospital here in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. CAPLAN. Is the question "you are" or "you were"?

Mr. ARENS. Are you?

Mr. ALBERT. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask you to direct the witness to answer that question because I cannot possibly see how answering that question could be incriminating, as to whether he is employed at a hospital here. How could that in any way incriminate him? I ask you to direct the witness.

Mr. ALBERT. I feel there may be a link.

Mr. CAPLAN. Just a minute. Is there something from the Chair?

Mr. WILLIS. I will have to direct him to answer because this is testing his good faith in the proper invocation. Now, if he has a reason to invoke which does not appear on its face he may so state, and I understand he was about to do so.

Mr. CAPLAN. Just a moment. He did invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. On its face. On its face that is not a proper invocation unless he has feared that to reveal his employment would tend to incriminate him or subject him to criminal prosecution.

Mr. CAPLAN. Would you please repeat the question?

Mr. ARENS. The question was a direction from the chairman to answer the question as to whether or not he is employed in a hospital here in the Pittsburgh area.

Mr. ALBERT. I believe you mentioned the name Montefiore Hospital?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. ALBERT. My memory is very good.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I fear that it may.

Mr. CAPLAN. Just a minute.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. Well, I am not now working. I am unemployed, so I am not working at the Montefiore Hospital.

Mr. ARENS. When were you last working there?

Mr. ALBERT. About a few weeks ago.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work there?

Mr. ALBERT. Less than a year.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your employment at the hospital?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. On the basis that this may lead to incriminate me I therefore plead the first and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment activity at the hospital?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. Painting.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been engaged in any occupation since you completed your formal education up to and including the time that you began your employment at the hospital concerning which you

can tell this committee without revealing information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. ALBERT. In relation to that question I must plead the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offense?

Mr. ALBERT. In relation to that question I must plead the——

Mr. ARENS. Were you convicted in 1948 and later served 18 months in the Allegheny County Workhouse?

Mr. ALBERT. I must plead the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question. He has been convicted and has served his time. I can conceive of no possible basis upon which an answer to the question as to whether or not he has been convicted, reflected in a court record, could possibly incriminate him.

Mr. CAPLAN. May I make a statement, please? I am in a most peculiar position. May I say something, please?

Mr. WILLIS. I am afraid not.

Mr. CAPLAN. Before the Chair, and may I answer that comment, please?

Mr. ARENS. Your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise your client, and abide by the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. CAPLAN. I will abide by the Chair. I would like to make a statement.

Mr. ARENS. Your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise your client.

Mr. WILLIS. You should only advise your client.

Mr. CAPLAN. Excuse me.

Mr. WILLIS. Has he invoked his privilege?

Mr. CAPLAN. Yes, he did.

Mr. WILLIS. I think perhaps he will be directed, that the Chair will unless counsel presses it awfully hard.

Mr. CAPLAN. I am not trying to press. Gentlemen, please understand.

Do I understand—just a moment, please.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, we are going on to another question.

Mr. WILLIS. I am not directing him to say any more. I am completely satisfied with that.

Mrs. ARENS. Have you been active in the Committee To End Sedition Laws?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the question. I did not hear the last question, Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been active in the Committee To End Sedition Laws?

Mr. WILLIS. Would you kindly give us an answer to the question, please, sir?

Mr. ALBERT. I answered that with invoking the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Nathan Albert?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a Mr. and Mrs. Hamp Golden?

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. They identified you this morning as a person known by them to a certainty to be a member of the Communist Party. Were they in error in their identification or were they accurate and truthful?

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I hand you now an article from the Worker, Sunday, June 29, 1952, entitled "To Welcome Nate Albert Home." A welcome-home party for Nate Albert being given by the Civil Rights Congress at the Jewish Cultural Center, 6328 Forbes. It tells about Albert being released from his imprisonment and his sentence for inciting a riot. It quotes Nathan Albert about how happy he is to learn what all has been accomplished and the like. Would you kindly look at this photostatic reproduction of the Communist Worker, with reference to this celebration welcoming you home from your imprisonment and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not the statements attributed to you there, the contents of the article are substantially true and correct.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I will invoke the first and fifth amendments to this question.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were convicted of inciting to riot?

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the document which has been displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record.

Mr. WILLIS. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Albert Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We want to show you a photostatic reproduction of an article appearing in the September 13, 1949, Daily Worker, a letter to Ben Gold signed, "Nathan Albert," which states—

The trial of the 12 is a trial against every American who loves freedom and democracy and hates fascism and its instigators.

It tells all about what is being done to fight the trial of the 12 Communist leaders and according to the author there is enclosed a check apparently for that purpose.

Kindly look at this document, which is being handed to you, and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of a letter sent by yourself on behalf of the 12 Communist traitors who were being tried then in Foley Square.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and the fifth amendments on that question.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this document be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked and incorporated.

(Document marked "Albert Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I should like to hand you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of another article appearing in the Daily Worker, January 7, 1946, entitled, "Pittsburgh CP To Honor Vets," which states:

A tribute to Communist servicemen killed in the war and to 50 Communist veterans now returned will be held in Pittsburgh, January 20, by the Communist organization there.

It tells about the number of Communist veterans to be honored, including, according to this article, Nathan Albert, active in the struggles of the electrical workers.

Kindly look at this article that is being handed to you and tell this committee while you are under oath were the facts represented in this article true and correct to your certain knowledge?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and the fifth amendment to that question.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, this document be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked and incorporated.

(Document marked "Albert Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I display to you a photostatic reproduction of a letter received by a former chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C., protesting certain investigations by this committee as being un-Constitutional and unwarranted, beyond the constitutional scope of the committee and the like. Signed, "Nathan Albert, 6308 Forward Avenue, Pittsburgh 17, Pa." Kindly look at that document being displayed to you now and tell this committee while you are under oath whether that is a true and correct reproduction of a letter sent by you to a former chairman of this committee.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ALBERT. I invoke the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist conspiracy when you sent that letter to Washington, D.C.?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I invoke the first and the fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Albert Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this very instant, a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I invoke the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I have one more question, Mr. Chairman.

I hand you a document entitled, "Unions Are Their Target," issued by the Independent Voters League, Joseph Rudiak, president, Alexander Staber, secretary. Kindly look at that document already identified on this record (Golden Exhibit No. 1) and tell the committee whether you were instrumental in the dissemination of that article in the Pittsburgh area in the course of the last several days.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I invoke the first and the fifth amendment.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

MR. WILLIS. The Chair wishes to thank Mr. Caplan for his appearance here and the local bar for providing this service.

MR. CAPLAN. Thank you very much. I didn't realize that under the powers of your committee, counsel cannot make any statement or question. I didn't realize that.

(Witness excused.)

(Mr. Scherer left the room.)

MR. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Miriam Schultz.

Kindly come forward.

MR. SCHLESINGER. Mr. Chairman, the lights hurt her eyes.

MR. WILLIS. Turn off the lights. Kindly raise the right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MIRIAM SCHULTZ, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HYMEN SCHLESINGER

MR. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. SCHULTZ. My name is Miriam Schultz. I live at 2715 Murray Avenue, and I am a housewife.

MR. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mrs. Schultz, in response to a subpoena served upon you by this committee?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. That is right.

MR. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. That is right.

MR. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself on this record.

MR. SCHLESINGER. My name is Hymen Schlesinger and my address is the Renshaw Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

MR. ARENS. Please give us a word about your education, Mrs. Schultz.

Mrs. SCHULTZ. I was educated in the public schools of Pittsburgh.

MR. ARENS. And did you go to college?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. No.

MR. ARENS. Did that conclude your formal education, the public schools?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Yes.

MR. ARENS. Did you receive any training other than the training you have received in public schools?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

MR. ARENS. Have you received training in Communist Party leadership training, underground training schools?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. First and fifth amendments.

MR. ARENS. Have you been known by any name other than the name Miriam Schultz since you were married?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. First and fifth amendment.

MR. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last several years gone to see the Governor of this State, the then Governor of this State on behalf of certain causes in which you were active?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Mr. Counsel, I decline to answer that on the grounds that the right of petition for redress of grievances is involved. Therefore, the first amendment. And the fifth amendment as well.

Mr. ARENS. We are not undertaking to preclude your right to go there. We want to interrogate you with respect to that and particularly within the jurisdiction of this committee to determine whether or not when you went, you went as an agent of an international Communist conspiracy or whether you went as a citizen. Now, we would like to show you a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing in the May 29, 1953, Communist Daily Worker, "20 Delegates Present Nelson's Case in Pennsylvania Governor's Office," which indicates that Miriam Schultz was spokesman of the Pittsburgh delegation. Kindly look at this document which is being handed to you and tell this committee whether or not that document truthfully and accurately reproduces the facts in respect to your visit to the office of the Governor as a spokesman for a group in the Pittsburgh area.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Mr. Counsel, may I request that we have no pictures? I don't know whether I did make that request or not.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, and the chairman ordered during your testimony there be no pictures.

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. On the grounds of the first amendment, as well as of the fifth, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell the Governor and did you tell the State officials when you went there you were an agent of the Communist conspiracy to bring pressure on them or make representations to them?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. On the grounds of the first and the fifth amendment I decline to answer the question. The right of petition for redress of grievances is here involved.

(Document marked "Schultz Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you or have you in the recent past been executive secretary of the Pittsburgh chapter of the Civil Rights Congress?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Mr. Counsel, that question abrogates the rights of freedom of assembly. Therefore, I use the first amendment as well as the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully now direct your attention to an article appearing in the April 12, 1953, Communist Daily Worker, "Win Bill of Rights Case at Homestead Steel Gates," in which the following appears:

"This is an important victory for free speech," said Miriam Schultz, the executive secretary of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, who led the leaflet group.

This article is telling about a group passing out leaflets to some 10,000 workers.

Kindly look at the article which is being handed to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that quotation attributed to you is true and correct.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Mr. Counsel, I believe with all my heart in the first amendment which guarantees the freedom of press. Therefore on the basis of the first amendment I decline to answer this as well as on the basis of the fifth.

(Document marked "Schultz Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you believe with all the intensity of your heart in the preservation of the Constitution of the United States?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. That has been—are you asking my opinion?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. SCHULTZ. This is my opinion. I have devoted my life to the preservation of the civil rights of all Americans regardless of their color, their skin, their race, their knowledge, or their loyalties.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of an association dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States and to destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mrs. SCHULTZ. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Now we have a letter from the readers to the Communist Daily Worker and this letter is signed Miriam Schultz, executive secretary of the Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress.

Kindly look at this letter which is now being handed to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether it is a true and correct reproduction of the letter sent by you to the Communist Daily Worker.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Oh, my goodness, yes. This involves the first amendment, the freedom of press, freedom of assembly and therefore I decline to answer both on that ground and on the grounds of the fifth amendment as well.

(Document marked "Schultz Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you in addition to your other activities been an author, a columnist?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. That certainly infringes. That question is an infringement of the right of free expression, free publication, therefore on the grounds of the first as well as on the fifth I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a thermofax reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker bearing a column, "Court Said 'No Case,' but Dolsen's Bail is Doubled. By Miriam Schultz, Executive Secretary, Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress."

Kindly look at that article being handed to you and tell this committee under oath whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of an article appearing under your byline in the Communist Daily Worker?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

(Mr. Scherer returned to the room.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. The question clearly infringes on the whole question of the right to bail, which is protected in the eighth amendment, the question of the independence of the judiciary. It certainly involves the question of freedom of press in the first amendment and on the

basis of all those amendments, as well as of the fifth, I decline to answer.

(Document marked "Schultz Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each and every one of these exhibits which has been displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let them be so marked and incorporated.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mrs. Schultz, the Committee on Un-American Activities is undertaking to develop factual information respecting strategy and techniques of the conspiratorial operation in the United States designed to overthrow this Government by force and violence and establish world communism.

Do you presently have information respecting the machinations and operations of the Communist Party in the Pittsburgh area, current information?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. Mr. Counsel, I would like to see this committee investigate the White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mrs. SCHULTZ. As to that specific question I invoke the fifth amendment as well as the first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. This morning Mrs. Mary Golden, who had been an undercover agent at the behest of the FBI in the Communist conspiracy in this area, at great sacrifice to herself, undertaking to get information to protect this country against conspirators, testified, under oath, that she knew you as a member of the Communist Party as a part of this atheistic, godless conspiracy which is threatening freedom everywhere. We would like to give you an opportunity now, while you are under oath, to deny that testimony. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. SCHULTZ. First and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. Witness excused.

We do not have any extensive testimony but to relieve the reporter we will take a 5-minute break.

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Scherer.)

(Brief recess.)

(Subcommittee members present at the time of the reconvening of the subcommittee: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Scherer.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel, please call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Hyman Lumer, please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LUMER. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF HYMAN LUMER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
HYMEN SCHLESINGER**

Mr. LUMER. Mr. Chairman, may I in accordance with the rulings earlier today offer this motion for the committee's consideration?

Mr. WILLIS. You may hand it to the staff member.

Mr. LUMER. Mr. Chairman, there is a motion to quash my subpoena on the grounds stated.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. LUMER. I thought I had. I thought I had taken an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, I administered the oath.

Mr. ARENS. Have a seat, please, sir.

Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LUMER. Name is Hyman Lumer. I live at 640 West 153d Street, New York City.

With reference to my occupation, I will invoke my rights under the first and fifth amendments and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. LUMER. Yes, it was served on me at the University of Pittsburgh at a meeting.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. LUMER. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. SCHLESINGER. My name is Hymen Schlesinger. My office is at the Renshaw Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you say you were when you were served with this subpoena?

Mr. LUMER. In the University of Pittsburgh.

Mr. ARENS. In what part of the University of Pittsburgh?

Mr. LUMER. Student Union.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. LUMER. Thursday, February 26.

Mr. ARENS. And in what building?

Mr. LUMER. In the Student Union.

Mr. ARENS. And where in the building?

Mr. LUMER. In the ballroom.

Mr. ARENS. Were you on the platform?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you on the platform?

Mr. LUMER. One moment, please.

May I ask whether these questions are directed to the actual service of the subpoena?

Mr. ARENS. Please answer the question. Where were you when you were served with the subpoena to appear before this committee?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you please answer the question?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. Mr. Chairman, I have already stated that the subpoena was served on me at the University of Pittsburgh in the ballroom and I believe that I have fully answered the question.

Mr. ARENS. Were you on the lecture platform when you were served with this subpoena?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. At this point I will invoke the first and fifth amendments and decline to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question. How can it possibly incriminate him to say whether he was on the platform when he was served the subpoena.

Mr. WILLIS. I think that is a proper request. It opened up the subject.

Mr. LUMER. If the question is simply in relation to the subpoena, I do not recall whether I was actually on or off the platform.

Mr. ARENS. Were you on the lecture platform in full view of the student audience when you were subpoenaed?

Mr. LUMER. The same answer. I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union that you were on the lecture platform in full view of the student audience when you were subpoenaed to appear before this committee?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What were you doing there at the University of Pittsburgh when you were subpoenaed to appear before this committee?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I again decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is you were not served on any lecture platform and not in view of any student body, is that not a fact?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same ground.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us get a direction to answer. I ask you to direct the witness to answer for the simple reason it cannot possibly incriminate him. The second reason is he has already opened the door by his previous testimony.

Mr. LUMER. If the question is in reference to the service, I have already answered it to the best of my ability.

Mr. WILLIS. The question, irrespective of what it directs itself to, is developing the point that you, yourself, urged and opened up, and I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. LUMER. I answered it previously by saying I didn't know. That I did not recall, rather.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that your answer now, you do not recall?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. The question as to what the actual spot of service was, I said I do not recall. That is my answer.

Mr. SCHERER. No, the next question, though, we are interested in is, did you tell a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union that you were served on the platform in open view of all the students present? That is the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. That is not the question that you were directing me to answer. It was a subsequent question.

Mr. SCHERER. I will ask you the question then, again, Mr. Arens asked you—

Mr. LUMER. Then I will answer it as I did before. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct him to answer the question as to whether or not he told a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union that he was on the platform in view of the student body when he was served.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. LUMER. Please may I have a moment to talk to my attorney?

Mr. WILLIS. You may.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. The questions with regard to the service of the subpoena I do not recall having had any conversation with anyone in the Civil Liberties Union in that respect.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is, however, that you were not served on any platform and you were not served in the presence of any student gathering; is that not correct?

Mr. LUMER. My answer was I did not recall whether I was served on the platform or not.

Mr. SCHERER. You were served by a U.S. marshal, were you not?

Mr. LUMER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I asked you what you were doing there at the University of Pittsburgh.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. According to the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of February 24, 1959, which I am going to display to you in a little while, you were invited out there to discuss various political ideas, and various political philosophies. Did you discuss political ideas or political philosophies with the students?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that also on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Communist Party a political party or is it a conspiratorial organization?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell the students when you lectured at the University of Pittsburgh about your underground activities in the conspiracy?

Mr. LUMER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell the students that for a number of years you effaced all identification of yourself, changed your name, your identification, by every possible device and worked underground in this conspiracy to destroy this country? Did you tell them that?

Mr. LUMER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Where had you been lecturing prior to the time that you were invited to discuss political ideas and political philosophies with these students at the university here?

Mr. LUMER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Had you been on a lecture tour?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Was it your purpose to portray to the students that the Communist operation in the United States was a political philosophy and ideology, or a part of an atheistic, Godless force of deceit and treachery and intrigue, designed to destroy freedom everywhere?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist conspiratorial force designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States and this country by force and violence?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. LUMER. Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. ARENS. A word about your education.

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You have a Ph. D. degree?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Was your appearance at the University of Pittsburgh caused to be arranged directly or indirectly by any person, other than yourself, known to be a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you now an article that appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of February 24, 1959, which reads—

The national education secretary of the American Communist Party is scheduled to speak Thursday to students of the University of Pittsburgh—

and so forth on a program, according to this article, of various political ideas and political philosophies. Kindly look at this article and tell this committee whether or not it gives a reasonably accurate summary of the facts with respect to your appearance before the student body at the University of Pittsburgh to discuss political ideas and political philosophy.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. LUMER. Just a moment.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Lumer Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Was it your objective, as education secretary of the Communist Party, to go to the University of Pittsburgh for the purpose of giving respectability, attempted respectability to a conspiracy?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the youth at the University of Pittsburgh the Hungarian uprising in which the tanks of the conspiracy mowed down innocent men and women like wheat?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the students the slave labor camps in Soviet Russia?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with the students the criminal activities of the conspiracy enmeshed in all segments of the society of this Nation?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Who invited you to attend the session and lecture at the university?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Where else do you intend to lecture to attempt to give respectability to a Godless, atheistic conspiracy?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline on the same grounds to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever changed your name?

Mr. LUMER. Decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever changed your physical appearance—

Mr. LUMER. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. —for the purpose of concealing your identity?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now education secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUMER. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. How much of the Communist Party is now below ground?

Mr. LUMER. I decline that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. This Committee on Un-American Activities is presently and has been for some time in the process of tediously, ardously developing factual information by direction or indirection respecting the manipulations and operations and techniques of this conspirational force which is threatening freedom everywhere. Do you, sir, presently have information about the present techniques of these matters of deceit, as J. Edgar Hoover calls them, which are penetrating various segments of our society, that you can give a committee of the U.S. Congress so that it can take this information back to Washington and legislate to protect freedom in this country against conspirators? Do you have such information presently?

Mr. LUMER. Decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you related in any way to Wilfred Lumer?
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Wilfred Lumer?

Mr. LUMER. I will decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have a brother?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUMER. I will decline on the same grounds to answer that.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The final witness for today, if you please, Mr. Chairman, Edmund J. Lange.

Kindly come forward, remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LANGE. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Have a seat, please.

Mr. LANGE. Will you please put the light out? I can't see. It hurts my eyes. I want no pictures.

Mr. WILLIS. Put out the light.

TESTIMONY OF EDMUND J. LANGE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HYMEN SCHLESINGER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself, sir, by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LANGE. Edmund Lange, 1317 James Street, Pittsburgh, Zone 12.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly complete your answer to the question?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Your occupation, please, sir?

Mr. LANGE. I feel that my occupation will incriminate me so I use the first and the fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. SCHERER. Where is this witness employed? Do you know, Mr. Investigator?

Mr. ARENS. The information we have is that he is presently employed at the Allegheny General Hospital. Is that correct, Mr. Lange?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. He said that he feels answering the question as to his employment might incriminate him. I just want to show how silly that is.

Mr. LANGE. I am sorry that has been disclosed, but that is correct.

Mr. ARENS. How could the disclosure of where you are presently employed incriminate you?

Mr. LANGE. Make me a link in the chain, Your Honor.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at the Allegheny General Hospital?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. Two and a half years.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your present employment?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your occupation at the Allegheny General Hospital?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. Orderly.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. LANGE. Etna, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. LANGE. 1910.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you go to high school?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. I didn't go to high school.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the education and training you have had.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you attended Communist Party training schools?

Mr. LANGE. I decline to answer on the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Hamp Golden?

Mr. LANGE. I decline to answer on the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. This morning Mr. Golden testified that while he was a member of the Communist Party serving his Government to get information on this conspiratorial menace he knew you as a Communist and that you were currently responsible for receiving and delivering to people here in the Pittsburgh area certain Communist Party literature, including the Sunday Worker, Masses and Mainstream, and other propaganda of the conspiracy. Was Mr. Golden truthful in his statements in that regard or was he in error?

Mr. LANGE. First and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Golden said he knew you as a Communist. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANGE. First and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to Washington, D.C.?

Mr. LANGE. First and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question. There are a lot of people in Washington, D.C., who are not Communists.

Mr. WILLIS. What was the question?

Mr. ARENS. I asked him if he had ever been to Washington, D.C., and he invoked the fifth amendment.

Mr. LANGE. There might be a link in the chain, Your Honor.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been in the military, in the Army?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been in the Army? Please answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Or in any branch of the service.

Mr. LANGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used your U.S. Army uniform for Communist Party purposes or objectives?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. First and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you use your U.S. Army uniform in Washington, D.C., on a Communist Party mission?

Mr. LANGE. First and fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean after he was discharged from the Army?

Mr. ARENS. When were you discharged from the Army? That will help us.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. I decline to answer on the first and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist while you were in the Army?

Mr. LANGE. May be a link in the chain, Your Honor.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question when he was discharged from the Army. He said he was in the Army. How can it incriminate him as to when he was discharged? It is a public record. We can get it.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer that question. It is a simple question and it might turn out for your benefit, I do not know.

Mr. LANGE. Repeat the answer, please. Repeat the question.

Mr. WILLIS. When were you discharged from the Army?

Mr. LANGE. 1943.

Mr. ARENS. Did you thereafter use your U.S. Army uniform for Communist objectives?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANGE. First and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently distribute Communist Party literature, propaganda and material in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. LANGE. First and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you are now one of the principal disseminators of Communist Party literature and propaganda in the Pittsburgh area. If that is not so, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. LANGE. Freedom of speech and press, assembly, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:57 p.m., Tuesday, March 10, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, March 11, 1959.)

(Subcommittee members present at the time of the recess, Representatives Wills, Tuck, and Scherer.)

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¹ Previously called Housewives Price Protest Committee.

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